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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
PENNSYLVANIA  
*Democratic State Convention,*

HELD AT HARRISBURG,

MARCH 4TH, 1856.

REPORTED BY JAMES B. SHERIDAN.

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PHILADELPHIA:  
WM. RICE, PENNSYLVANIAN OFFICE, PRINTER.  
1856.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.

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IN pursuance of the call of the Democratic State Central Committee, the Pennsylvania Democratic State Convention for appointing Delegates to the Cincinnati Convention, and also for nominating candidates for Canal Commissioner, Auditor-General, and Surveyor-General, assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives, at Harrisburg, on the morning of the 4th day of March, 1856.

Long before the appointed time of meeting, the hall was crowded with Delegates and others, who vied with each other in their expressions of regard and enthusiasm for Pennsylvania's favorite son. It was with feelings of delight that we saw these men—the old men and the young—those who have heretofore had other preferences, but now ardently for Mr. Buchanan,—the representatives of the Democratic masses of our State, and fresh from their midst, so unanimous in expressing the sentiments of their constituents.

At ten o'clock, the Convention was called to order by JAMES F. JOHNSTON, Esq., Chairman of the State Central Committee.

On motion of Mr. PIOLLET, of Bradford, Gen. J. P. BRAWLEY, of Crawford, was appointed temporary Chairman, and Messrs. R. BIDDLE ROBERTS, of Alleghany, and B. F. SLOAN, of Erie, Secretaries.

The following is a list of the Delegates to the Convention :

## SENATORIAL DELEGATES.

1. Philadelphia City—F. C. Frazier, C. M'Grath.
2. Philadelphia County—J. D. Campbell, Wm. Lamb, G. R. Berrill.
3. Montgomery—Ed. Satterthwait.
4. Chester and Delaware—O. E. Strickland.
5. Berks—James Hagerman.
6. Bucks—F. Vanzant.
7. Lancaster and Lebanon—James L. Reynolds, W. W. Murray.
8. Dauphin and Northumberland—Jacob Leisenring.
9. Northampton and Lehigh—Mifflin Hannum.
10. Carbon, Monroe, Pike, and Wayne—Lafayette Westbrook, of Pike.
11. Adams and Franklin—Wilson Reilley.
12. York—John Rankin.
13. Cumberland and Perry—John Stuart.
14. Centre, Lycoming, Clinton, and Sullivan—Wm. F. Packer.
15. Blair, Cambria, and Huntingdon—Adolphus Patterson.
16. Luzerne, Montour, and Columbia—H. B. Wright.
17. Bradford, Susquehanna, and Wyoming—J. F. Means.
18. Tioga, Potter, M'Kean, Elk, Clearfield, Jefferson, and Forest—De Witt C. James.
19. Mercer, Venango, and Warren—J. Y. James.
20. Erie and Crawford—Vincent Phelps.
21. Butler, Beaver, and Lawrence—Lewis Z. Mitchell.
22. Alleghany—R. Biddle Roberts, J. A. Gibson.
23. Washington and Greene—J. A. J. Buchanan.
24. Somerset, Bedford, and Fulton—J. S. Robinson.
25. Armstrong, Indiana, and Clarion—Charles J. Lamberton.
26. Juniata, Mifflin, and Union—Reuben Keller.
27. Westmoreland and Fayette—Wesley Frost.
28. Schuylkill—Clement Foster.

## REPRESENTATIVE DELEGATES.

- Adams, 1—H. J. Stahley.
- Alleghany, 5—S. W. Black, Charles Barnett, Henry M'Cullough, Matthew Harbeson, P. C. Shannon.
- Armstrong, Clarion, and Jefferson, 3—W. Ralston, Seth Clover, David Barclay.
- Beaver, Butler, and Lawrence, 3—Gen. Charles Carter, John N. Purviance, David Tidball.
- Bedford, Fulton, and Cambria, 2—George H. Spang, Richard White.
- Berks, 4—Jacob Wichline, H. L. Miller, C. W. Esser, W. N. Potteiger.
- Blair and Huntingdon, 2—Theo. Snyder, Thomas P. Campbell.
- Bradford, 2—V. E. Piollet, W. H. Peck.
- Bucks, 3—Paul Applebaugh, W. Harris, Jonathan Ely.
- Carbon and Lehigh, 2—A. G. Brodhead, J. D. Stiles.
- Centre, 1—Samuel Strohecker.
- Chester, 3—J. Hodgson, J. D. Evans, Ralph Marsh.
- Clearfield, M'Kean, and Elk, 1—J. L. Gillis.
- Clinton, Lycoming, and Potter, 2—John Piatt, Miles White.
- Columbia and Montour, 1—J. G. Montgomery.
- Crawford, 2—J. P. Brawley, W. Kerr.

Cumberland, 2—E. Cornman, Moses Bricker, Thomas M. Biddle.  
 Dauphin, 2—Samuel Bigler, O. Barret.  
 Delaware, 1—John P. James.  
 Erie, 2—Wilson Laird, B. F. Sloan.  
 Fayette and Westmoreland, 4—J. L. Dawson, Robert Given, Wm. Ross, E. J. Keenan.  
 Franklin, 2—G. W. Brewer, J. M. Cooper.  
 Greene, 1—Jesse Lazear.  
 Indiana, 1—Adam Lowrie.  
 Lebanon, 1—W. M. Breslin.  
 Lancaster, 5—Dr. James Cushman, H. S. Magraw, Dr. Samuel Parker, James S. M' Mahon, Abraham Peters.  
 Luzerne, 2—Dr. D. H. Throop, Samuel G. Turner.  
 Mercer, Venango, and Warren, 3—James Hazelton, Arnold Plumer, G. W. Schofield.  
 Mifflin, 1—Wm. Gilmore.  
 Monroe and Pike, 1—Oscar Mott.  
 Montgomery, 3—Philip S. Gerhard, John C. Smith, Jacob Jacoby.  
 Northampton, 2—J. M. Porter, John Davis.  
 Northumberland, 1—David B. Montgomery.  
 Perry, 1—James Black.  
 Philadelphia City, 4—Charles Brady, Thomas Ellis, Andrew O'Harra, John M'Combs.  
 Philadelphia County, 11—Thomas Corgee, Edward Wiler, P. M'Donough, Andrew Noble, Geo. W. Wunder, F. M'Cormick, A. Browne, John Crawford, Emanuel Street, James F. Nichols, John K. Hassinger.  
 Schuylkill, 2—Ed. Kerns, M. Cochran.  
 Somerset, 1—John D. Roddy.  
 Susquehanna, Sullivan, and Wyoming, 2—W. C. Ward, Dr. J. V. Smith.  
 Tioga, 1—H. A. Guernsey.  
 Union, Juniata, and Snyder, 1—A. P. Lusk.  
 Wayne, 1—F. M. Crain.  
 Washington, 2—Wm. Montgomery, Col. Wm. Hopkins.  
 York, 3—Edie Patterson, Wm. H. Welsh, Stewart Anderson.

After disposing of the contested seats of the senatorial delegates for Carbon, Monroe, and Pike by admitting Mr. Lafayette Westbrook, and for Somerset, Bedford, and Fulton by admitting Mr. J. S. Robinson, and of the contest for delegate from the representative district composed of Sullivan, Susquehanna, and Wyoming, by admitting Dr. J. V. Smith, of Wyoming, the Convention, on motion of Mr. Purviance, of Butler, directed the Chairman to appoint a committee of one from each Senatorial District to nominate officers for a permanent organization.

The Chairman appointed the following gentlemen as a committee on permanent organization :

## Dist.

1. J. D. Campbell.
2. John M'Combs.
3. Ed. Satterthwait.
4. J. Hodgson.
5. C. W. Esser.
6. Franklin Vanzant.
7. Jas. Cushman.
8. Jacob Leisenring.
9. John Davis.
10. A. G. Brodhead.
11. J. M. Cooper.
12. Edie Patterson, York.
13. John Stewart.
14. John Piatt.

## Dist.

15. A. Patterson, Blair.
16. J. G. Montgomery.
17. W. C. Ward.
18. De Witt C. James.
19. J. Y. James.
20. V. Phelps.
21. J. N. Purviance.
22. S. W. Black.
23. W. Montgomery.
24. Geo. H. Spang.
25. Chas. L. Lamberton.
26. A. P. Lusk.
27. Robt. Given.
28. Clement Foster.

Mr. Hopkins, of Washington, stated to the Convention, that his name had been mentioned by a number of gentlemen in connection with the office of President of the Convention, and having determined not to permit his name to be used in that connection, he felt it due to those gentlemen, as well as to himself, to make a public avowal of that determination.

He did it that the utmost harmony might prevail, and to this end he hoped the Convention would start right. (Applause.)

On motion, the Convention then adjourned until three o'clock, to afford the Committee on Permanent Organization an opportunity of consulting together.

## FOR PRESIDENT.

Hon. HENDRICK B. WRIGHT, of Luzerne Co.

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

- |                                 |                              |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Thomas Corgee, Wm. Lamb, Phila. | Dr. B. H. Throop, Luzerne.   |
| Philip S. Gerhard, Montgomery.  | John F. Means, Bradford.     |
| John P. James, Delaware.        | David Barclay, Jefferson.    |
| Jacob Wichline, Berks.          | G. W. Schofield, Warren,     |
| Paul Applebaugh, Bucks.         | Wilson Laird, Erie.          |
| Abraham Peters, Lancaster.      | David Tidball, Lawrence.     |
| Samuel Bigler, Dauphin.         | Henry McCullough, Allegheny. |
| Mifflin Hannum, Lehigh.         | Jesse Lazear, Greene.        |
| F. M. Crain, Wayne.             | John D. Roddy, Somerset.     |
| H. J. Stahley, Adams.           | Seth Clover, Clarion.        |
| John Rankin, York.              | Reuben C. Keller, Union.     |
| James Black, Perry.             | Wesley Frost, Fayette.       |
| Dr. Samuel Strohecker, Centre.  | Edward Kerns, Schuylkill.    |
| Theo. Snyder, Blair.            |                              |

## SECRETARIES.

B. F. Sloan, Erie.	Lewis Z. Mitchell, Butler.
Edward J. Keenan, Westmoreland.	Wm. N. Potteiger, Berks.
D. W. C. James, Potter.	Lafayette Westbrook, Pike.
Wm. M. Breslin, Lebanon.	Chas. McGrath, Philadelphia City.
George R. Berrill, Philadelphia.	Matthew Harbeson, Alleghany.
Jno. M. Cooper, Franklin.	Moses Bricker, Cumberland.

On motion, the report was unanimously adopted, and Gen. Wm. F. Packer and Col. Wm. Hopkins were appointed to conduct the President elect to the chair.

On taking the chair, Mr. Wright said:

Gentlemen of the Convention—I return you my thanks for this manifestation of your partiality. I shall endeavor to discharge the important duties you have assigned to me with fidelity; and it may not be improper in me at this time to state what I regard as discharging these duties with fidelity. We come here to-day, gentlemen, from all parts of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—and great she is—influenced by circumstances under which a convention never before assembled in Pennsylvania. We come here as a unit—we come here undivided—we come here to carry out a single purpose, and that purpose is to present, through this Commonwealth, to the nation at large, a man who is in every way qualified to discharge the duties of the first position in the Republic, and who in all probability will occupy it before another convention shall assemble here. (Great applause.) Need I say to you that the name of that distinguished man is James Buchanan? (Applause.) A man, who at this time, not only Pennsylvania, but the whole nation, is ready to honor! (Renewed applause.) Heretofore it has been said that Mr. Buchanan was presented by the politicians of Pennsylvania. To-day, gentlemen, he is borne to the Capitol of your State on the shoulders of the people. (Cheers.) No politician in Pennsylvania, as a politician, has had an exclusive hand in bringing about this great, this mighty, this signal triumph in our Commonwealth. Mr. Buchanan, this day, in Pennsylvania, is enshrined in the hearts of her people. (Applause.) He is stronger to-day in Pennsylvania than he ever was before; he is stronger to-day in the Nation than he ever was before. (Cheers.) Having met here for the purpose of selecting delegates who will cast a unanimous vote for this man, whom we



delight to honor, in the Convention which is to meet in Cincinnati, in June next, it becomes important that no man should be intrusted with the message to be carried there, unless he be a true man in every particular; as for myself, I am frank to acknowledge that I know no second choice. (Applause.) I have but one choice, and that choice the distinguished man of my own native State. What is to be the effect of our proceedings to-day? Before you shall adjourn to-night, the unanimity with which this Convention has been organized—the moral grandeur and power presented here—goes over the wires to all parties of this country, will carry with it into the public mind elsewhere, a conviction which we hope will make the proceedings of the Cincinnati Convention a unit. Also, in presenting our distinguished son, let us, gentlemen, in sending our delegation to the Convention at Cincinnati, intrust them with a platform worthy of the great State of Pennsylvania, and worthy of the great man that is to stand upon it when they get there. Let a platform go with that delegation National in its character—let it not be circumscribed by narrow, selfish, and local interests. Let it be a platform, wide as our country, from ocean to ocean, that every Democrat throughout the land may join hands with us in support of it. In that platform, which we are to intrust with our delegation, let us concede nothing to the South, but let us do the South equal and evenhanded justice—that is all they ask, and that is what we are willing to give. Embodied in that platform, let there be the great principle of the age, of the popular sovereignty, as embraced in the Kansas and Nebraska bill. (Terrific applause.) Let there be embraced in that platform this great principle—taxation only to meet the wants of a well-conducted government, sufficient to defray all of its expenses with a strict regard to national economy. (Applause.) Let there be embraced also in that platform, which these gentlemen shall carry there, a war of extermination against that sect or party of men opposed to religious toleration in this land. (Applause.) Let there be no dark spot on this glorious platform—let it be illuminated by reason, and no dark lanterns—let every portion of it stand out in “bold relief,” and let the gentlemen from Pennsylvania who carry to Cincinnati the ark of our national covenant, take one they may be proud of when they get there with it, and be cheered

by thousands who meet there for one common purpose, and with one common object. I said to you that I would discharge the duties of the Chair with impartiality; what I mean by impartiality is, that no man is to participate in that great business, unless he is under thorough pledges, and has manliness enough to carry those pledges out. Gentlemen, it is about time, I think, in the history of this country, that this old Commonwealth—one of the thirteen of the original States of the federal compact—should have a delegation of other portions of the confederacy in favor of one of her own men. We have been postponed from time to time; but when has Pennsylvania faltered? In the times that tried men's souls, she won the proud name of the Keystone of the Federal Arch; and now, when we are in the midst of times similar to those past, she will, again, as she did before, preserve the Union. (Great applause.) And here is the Democratic party of Pennsylvania—God knows I am proud to look upon you. I have frequently been in Conventions here for the last twenty-five years, and have never before seen so much intelligence displayed. Men come up from all quarters, old and young, to participate in bringing about the restoration of things that unluckily, two years ago, were subverted, and the country involved in disaster. We come here, operated upon by no local feelings; we come here, operated upon by no sectional feelings; we come here, having a due regard for the white freemen of this Union, and a due regard, I trust, for the black men of the Union. But I am one of those who think that we had better look to the welfare and happiness of twenty-seven millions of white men than to that of three millions of black men. (Tremendous applause.) Our politics here in Pennsylvania are national. We do not take a one-sided view of this great question, which presents itself in fanatical abolitionism and in religious intolerance. We occupy the whole ground. We stand upon ground, too, occupied by our fellow-Democrats throughout all parts of the country; and no Pennsylvanian, in his support of James Buchanan, if he is fortunately nominated, will more heartily cast his vote for him at the ballot-box, than the freeman who lives upon the golden shores of California, in Texas, or in the most remote parts of our country. We present a national man upon a national platform, without issue of any kind, and upon that platform let him stand

or fall. If we succeed in nominating that man, and sustaining that platform, who doubts but what the country is safe? No sound man. I do not think, gentlemen, that we have much to do. Our battle has been fought; and we have only to throw up our hats in exultation, that Mr. Buchanan is nominated—and Mr. Buchanan nominated, is Mr. Buchanan elected. (Great applause.) It is a mere formal matter that we are now going through—to show Mr. Buchanan our good will, and other parts of the confederation that Pennsylvania is in blood-earnest, and determined to have her choice—a point that the National Convention has never conceded before. I again return my thanks to you, gentlemen, for electing me to this position, the duties of which I shall faithfully administer. (Cheers.)

Gen. John N. Purviance, of Butler County, now came forward and offered the following resolution, which was adopted, for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of this Convention, representing as it does the Democracy of every County in Pennsylvania, and of designating their choice for the Chief Magistracy of the Union. General Purviance was Auditor-General under Governor Shunk, and has heretofore acted with the friends of General Cass, but now goes with all his heart for the unanimous choice of the democracy of the State.

*Resolved*, That the members of this Convention do now proceed to vote *viva voce* for the candidate for the Presidency of the United States, as the choice of Pennsylvania.

The roll of the Convention was then called, with the following result:

Messrs. Anderson, Berrill, Buchanan, Biddle, Barnett, Brodhead, Brawley, Bricker, Bigler (Dauphin), Brewer, Black (Perry), Brady, Browne, Barclay, Breslin, Black (Allegheny), Campbell (Philadelphia), Carter, Cooper, Cochran, Cushman, Corgee, Crawford, Crane, Clover, Dawson, Davis, Esser, Evans, Ellis, Frazer, Frost, Foster, Gibson, Gillis, Gerhard, Given, Gilmore, Guernsey, Hagerman, Harbison, Hannum, Hodgson, Hazleton, Hassinger, Hopkins, James (Delaware), James (Warren), James (Potter), Jacoby, Keller, Keenan, Kerns, Kerr, Lamb, Leisenring, Lamberton, Laird, Lazear, Lowrie, Lusk, M'Grath, Means, Mitchell, M'Cullough, Miller, Marsh, Montgomery (Columbia), Montgomery (North'd), Montgomery (Washington), Murray, Magraw, M' Mahon, Mott, M'Donough, M'Cormick, M'Combs, Nichols, Noble, O'Hara, Packer, Patterson (Blair), Patterson (York), Phelps, Purviance, Potteiger, Piollett, Peck, Piatt, Parker, Peter, Plummer, Porter, Reynolds, Reilly, Rankin, Roberts, Robinson, Ross, Roddy, Ralston, Saterthwaite, Strickland, Stahle, Stuart, Shannon, Sloan, Spang, Snyder, Smith (Wyoming), Smith (Montgomery), Stiles, Strohecker, Scofield, Street, Throop,

Tidball, Turner, Westbrook, Wright, White (Cambria), White (Potter), Wichein, Wiler, Wunder, Ward, and Welsh—127, voted for JAMES BUCHANAN.

Messrs. Applebaugh, Barret, Ely, Harris, and Vansant—5, voted for GEORGE M. DALLAS.

T. P. Campbell (Huntingdon)—1, for the Nominee of National Convention.

Hon. JAMES M. PORTER, when he recorded his vote in favor of Mr. Buchanan, said that it was very well known what the personal relations between Mr. Buchanan and himself were, and that he was elected at a County meeting, wholly uninstructed as to his vote; but waiving all personal considerations, and looking only to the integrity and union of the Democratic party, he voted for James Buchanan. (Great applause.)

Mr. VANSANT said that the Bucks County delegation had voted for George M. Dallas under instructions, and moved that the nomination be declared unanimous; which was agreed to—one voice dissenting.

Hon. WILSON REILLEY, of Franklin, offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That JAMES BUCHANAN, being the first and only choice of Pennsylvania for the Presidency, the President of this Convention do now appoint a committee of twenty-five, one from each Congressional district, with instructions to report to this Convention, subject to its approbation, the names of fifty-four delegates, four senatorial delegates from the State at large, and two representative delegates from each Congressional district, to represent the Democracy of the State in the National Convention, to be held at Cincinnati in June next; and for the purpose of advocating with earnest sincerity before the delegated power of the Democracy of the Union, the true position and sentiments of the people of the old Keystone Commonwealth; the committee shall report no person as a delegate, nor shall any person be chosen as such delegate, who is not known to this Convention to be the firm, consistent, and under all circumstances, reliable friend of our nominee, and who feels no other preference.

*And further*, That the said committee be instructed to report, subject to the approbation of this Convention, the names of twenty-seven persons, two senatorial and one representative from each Congressional district, as candidates for Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, to be supported by the Democratic party at the next election.

Mr. REILLEY addressed the Convention as follows, amid great applause, in support of his resolution :

Mr. President: Eight years ago, at a convention which met in this town, I spoke and voted against the appointment of delegates to the National Convention, who would favor the nomination of James Buchanan as the Democratic candidate for the office of President of the United States. Four years later, at a convention held in this hall, I again spoke, voted, and exerted all the little influence I possessed to defeat the friends of that great man, in appointing delegates who would favor his nomination for the same high office; and, with thirty-two others, signed and sent forth to the world a protest against the mode adopted in selecting such delegates. That protest, if not designed, was, at least, calculated to affect injuriously Mr. Buchanan's prospects before the National Convention. In thus opposing Mr. Buchanan, I acted in all good faith and sincerity of heart towards the Democratic party. I believed, that his nomination would be the sure precursor to a total rout of that party, and the certain destruction of its hopes for years to come. I did not hate Mr. Buchanan, but I loved my party and its principles more. Those principles, I am fully persuaded, if carried into practice here, will not only perpetuate to our own people in all time to come, the great institutions of freedom, under which we live so happily, but the benign influence of which will widen and spread, until the world shall feel and own its power, and mankind shall stand redeemed and disenthralled, as we do from tyranny of every description.

I was persuaded, in my own mind, that the times and circumstances demanded the nomination of Lewis Cass. That great and good man, that wise and patriotic statesman, whose fame is world-wide, and will live in the hearts of his countrymen as long as they love virtue, liberty, and independence. I believe, that the American people had seen and felt the wrong they had done that man; and that their hearts leaped within them to wipe out from their character the foul stain of ingratitude. I believe, now, sir, that, if he had been nominated by the National Convention, he would have been triumphantly elected. I have not lost, I pray God, I never may lose, the admiration, yea, the love I have for that man, whose every public act will

be written in characters of living light upon the proudest pages of his country's best and purest history. May heaven prolong his life, and when the hour comes for him to die, may he wrap the drapery of his couch around him, and lie down to pleasant dreams, and live forever in immortal peace far above the reach of private malice and public detraction.

But, Mr. President, Lewis Cass has publicly announced his determination not to be a candidate.

Where shall we find another equally worthy and capable to be the standard-bearer for the great Democratic party? What man can we name, whose fervent devotion to the principles we love, and whose ability to carry those principles into successful practice, will insure permanency to our free institutions, and preserve intact our glorious Union, reared and cemented by the best and richest blood that ever coursed through human veins, and compel the world to acknowledge our power, and scrupulously to observe our rights? On whom can we rely, not only for success, but after success has been attained, for a safe, judicious, energetic, and patriotic administration of the affairs of this government?

I have thought anxiously, and with the best wishes of my heart to be right, of the many great and noble men of our party in all the States.

I have studied, with some care, the private character and public acts of those, who, it is thought, will be most prominent as candidates before the National Convention shortly to assemble at Cincinnati.

I have endeavored to discard all prejudices, and not to be narrow-minded or selfish in my choice; and on my conscience, and with due respect for the talents of all others, I know of no man, who, in all the qualifications necessary to make, not only a successful leader of the Democratic forces, but a safe, judicious, and patriotic President, is comparable with James Buchanan. Honestly, in my humble judgment, with one or two exceptions, he has not his peer in this nation.

From the time he volunteered his services, shouldered his musket, and marched in defence of his country's power and his country's rights to the present hour, there is not one public act of his life which does not demand and deserve the gratitude and praise of his countrymen.

In every emergency he is found willing and able to defend the right, and expose and defeat the wrong. In the most intellectual political body of this nation, when the Senate of the United States had in it more truly great men than at any period of our history, and, perhaps, a larger number of really great men than any political body of its size ever assembled, James Buchanan was acknowledged to be equal to the mightiest of them all.

When Massachusetts, South Carolina, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, and other States, were represented by very giants, Pennsylvania's favorite son stood among them, grappling on all necessary occasions with the strongest, and coming out of every conflict with honor to himself and to the Old Keystone State. No single question of great importance ever came before that body, whilst Mr. Buchanan was a member of it, in the discussion of which his voice was not heard, and always in the right.

In after years, when called to the highest office, save one, in this government, at a time when the welfare of the nation demanded the services of its best and ablest men, and when it was necessary to combat and overthrow the opposition of a mighty party of our own citizens, and to chastise an insolent foreign foe, he is found side by side with the then patriotic President, battling for the honor and glory of his native land.

The administration in which Mr. Buchanan acted so conspicuous a part, will compare well with any which has preceded or succeeded it. And the Cabinet of which he was premier, will compare favorably with any of ancient or modern times.

In later years, when the present excellent and able President, and his equally excellent and able Cabinet, found it necessary to send a fit person to represent us at the proudest court of the most arrogant and exacting people on the face of the globe, who but James Buchanan is thought best qualified to discharge the duties of that high trust?

And now, sir, when that proud court and arrogant nation had broken their treaties, and put forth pretensions absurd and impudent, who but James Buchanan has grappled with the old lion of England and bearded him in his own den, and dared him to assert those pretensions in a contest with young America?

Why, then, should any American citizen oppose the nomina-

tion and election of such a man? Who that loves his country and desires its true glory in all ages, dare say that that glory would be tarnished by the election of James Buchanan?

Who that can offer up one sincere petition to the Ruler of nations, for the peace, prosperity, and happiness of this people, will dare say that either would be endangered by the election of James Buchanan?

Who will dare say that he would not feel safe in all his rights as an American, wherever he might be, amid the most civilized and powerful nation, or the wildest and most savage of the human race, in peace or in war, if James Buchanan was President? None, Sir, none.

Pennsylvania demands his nomination as a right, and the nation is moving to do us justice. Let no man attempt to defeat the will of the people. A people's frown is sure and certain death on whom it falls.

As Pennsylvanians, we have a right to feel some State pride in this matter; and permit me, Mr. President, to feel a little prouder than most others on this floor, when speaking of Mr. Buchanan. He is a son of my own native county. Long before I became personally acquainted with him, I passed by the humble spot on which he was born, and having heard of his mighty deeds, as a statesman and a patriot, I stood and gazed upon the little stony hollow where once stood his father's humble dwelling, and thought of the man until the pulsations of my heart beat quicker and louder, and with far more than simple respect, I pronounced, at first softly, and then in louder tones, the name of Pennsylvania's Favorite Son, till the little dell and the mountain ridges round about echoed and re-echoed with the name of James Buchanan.

Believing, before God, that he is the man for the times, and that he richly merits the gratitude of his countrymen, and that the best way to manifest that gratitude is to call him to preside over the destinies of the nation, I pledge my talents, my time, the energies of heart and mind, and all the little influence I can exert, to secure the nomination and election of James Buchanan.

Hon. John L. DAWSON, of Fayette, moved that a committee of



thirteen be appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of the Convention; which was agreed to.

Mr. WELSH moved that the Convention proceed to ballot for a candidate for Canal Commissioner.

Mr. PURVIANCE moved that the motion of Mr. WELSH be postponed for the present; which, after some remarks from Messrs. WELSH, GILLIS, and PURVIANCE, was agreed to.

Mr. PIOLLET moved that when the Convention adjourns, it will adjourn to meet at seven o'clock this evening; which was agreed to.

Mr. MAGRAW moved that the Convention do now adjourn; which was agreed to.

Adjourned.

### EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at seven o'clock.

The President announced the following committees:

#### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

John L. Dawson, Howard L. Miller, R. Biddle Roberts, David Tidball, Wm. Montgomery, Emanuel Street, Franklin Vansant, John F. Means, James L. Reynolds, Mifflin Hannum, Wilson Reilley, J. G. Montgomery.

#### COMMITTEE ON DELEGATES AND ELECTORS.

1st District, Patrick McDonough; 2d, Charles Brady; 3d, John Crawford; 4th, Francis McCormick; 5th, Edmund Satherthwaite; 6th, Ralph Marsh; 7th, John D. Stiles; 8th, I. Hagerman; 9th, Henry S. Magraw; 10th, W. W. Murray; 11th, Jacob Leisenring; 12th, S. G. Turner; 13th, J. M. Porter; 14th, V. E. Piollet; 15th, Wm. F. Packer; 16th, Wm. H. Welsh; 17th, G. W. Brewer; 18th, Richard White; 19th, Robert Given; 20th, Wesley Frost; 21st, Chas. Barnett; 22d, J. N. Purviance; 23d, James Hazleton; 24th, James L. Gillis; 25th, J. Porter Brawley.

Mr. REILLEY moved that a State Central Committee be appointed by the President, to be composed of thirty-three, equal to the number of State Senators—each district to be entitled to as many members of the Committee as she has Senators; which was adopted.

A motion that the Chair announce the Committee before the final adjournment of the Convention, was also adopted.

Mr. WELSH moved to proceed to the nomination of a candidate for Canal Commissioner.

Mr. BRAWLEY moved to amend the motion, by postponing the nomination of candidates till to-morrow morning, and that Ex-Governor Bigler, who was present in the Convention, be invited to address the Convention.

The motion was subsequently amended to include also, Hon. Chas. R. Buckalew and Col. Samuel W. Black, and so adopted.

The Chairman of the Committee on Delegates and Electors announced that the Committee would sit this evening, during the session of the Convention.

Gov. BIGLER was then called for, appeared, and addressed the Convention.

He was followed by SAMUEL W. BLACK, Esq., of Alleghany, CHARLES R. BUCKALEW, Esq., of Columbia, and WM. MONTGOMERY, Esq., of Washington, and other distinguished gentlemen. Their speeches will be found in another part of this pamphlet.

After Mr. M. had concluded his remarks, Hon. JAS. M. PORTER, from the Committee to select Delegates to the National Convention and Electors, reported the following:

#### DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Arnold Plumer, Venango.  
Henry D. Foster, Westmoreland.  
David R. Porter, Dauphin.  
James L. Reynolds, Lancaster.

#### DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1st—Edward G. Webb, John M'Carthy.  
2d—James C. Vandyke, Chambers M'Kibbin.  
3d—John Robbins, Jr., Charles W. Carrigan.  
4th—Jos. Lippencott, John G. Brenner.  
5th—Owen Jones, Thomas J. Roberts.  
6th—John Rutter, Charles D. Manley (Delaware).  
7th—John D. Stiles, Edward Nicholson.  
8th—J. Glancy Jones, P. K. Miller.  
9th—H. B. Swarr, Jos. B. Baker.  
10th—John Weidman, J. M. Kreiter.  
11th—Wm. L. Dewart, C. M. Straub.  
12th—H. B. Wright, J. G. Montgomery.  
13th—J. N. Hutchinson, H. B. Beardsly.  
14th—V. E. Piollet, C. L. Ward.  
15th—Wm. F. Packer, John H. Morrison.  
16th—Henry Welsh, John Stuart.  
17th—John Cessna, A. P. Lusk.

- 18th—John C. Everhart, Richard White.  
 19th—Jacob Forney, Alex. McKinney.  
 20th—John L. Dawson, William Hopkins.  
 21st—Andrew Burke, Charles Barnett.  
 22d—Saml. W. Black, Jas. A. Gibson.  
 23d—M. C. Trout, John N. McGuffin.  
 24th—J. L. Gillis, J. Y. James.  
 25th—J. Porter Brawley, Wilson Laird.

## ELECTORS AT LARGE.

Charles R. Buckalew, Columbia.  
 Wilson McCandless, Alleghany.

- 1st District—Geo. W. Nebinger, Philadelphia County.  
 2d “ Pierce Butler, Philadelphia City.  
 3d “ Edward Wartman, Philadelphia County.  
 4th “ Wm. H. Witte, Philadelphia County.  
 5th “ John McNair, Montgomery County.  
 6th “ John H. Brinton, Chester County.  
 7th “ David Laury, Lehigh County.  
 8th “ Charles Kessler, Berks County.  
 9th “ James Patterson, Lancaster County.  
 10th “ Isaac Slenker, Union County.  
 11th “ Fras. W. Hughes, Schuylkill County.  
 12th “ Thomas Osterhaut, Wyoming County.  
 13th “ Abraham Edinger, Monroe County.  
 14th “ Reuben Wilber, Bradford County.  
 15th “ George A. Crawford, Clinton County.  
 16th “ James Black, Perry County.  
 17th “ Henry J. Stahle, Adams County.  
 18th “ John D. Roddy, Somerset County.  
 19th “ Jacob Turney, Westmoreland County.  
 20th “ J. A. J. Buchanan, Greene County.  
 21st “ William Wilkins, Allegheny County.  
 22d “ James G. Campbell, Butler County.  
 23d “ Thomas Cunningham, Beaver County.  
 24th “ John Keatley, Clarion County.  
 25th “ Vincent Phelps, Crawford County.

The report of the Committee was adopted; after which,

On motion, the Convention adjourned to meet to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock.

## SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Convention met at ten o'clock, A. M., on Wednesday the 5th, and was called to order by the President, Honorable HENDRICK B. WRIGHT.

Mr. GEO. W. BREWER, of Franklin, moved that a committee of five be appointed to inform Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN that he is the unanimous choice of this Convention for the next Presidency, which motion was agreed to.

The President appointed the following gentlemen to serve on the committee.

Geo. W. Brewer, of Franklin Co.	Joel B. Danner, of Adams Co.
J. M. Porter, of Northampton Co.	J. A. Gibson, of Alleghany Co.
Geo. R. Berrill, Philadelphia.	

On motion of WILSON RILEY, Esq., of Franklin, the President was instructed to appoint a State Central Committee, consisting of 75 members, any ten of whom, at the call of the Chairman, would form a quorum.

The following Resolutions, prepared and reported by JOHN S. DAWSON, of Fayette, were then read by that gentleman.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

*Resolved*, That in the present distracted condition of parties, in which sectional and partial issues have been allowed to attain a dangerous supremacy, we recognize in the policy of the Democratic party, that which rests upon the Constitution as its basis; and that it is the party which above all others has, in the language of the illustrious Madison, ever continued "to hold the Union of the States as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the Constitution, which is the cement of the Union, as well in its limitations as its authorities; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the States and to the people, as equally incorporated with, and essential to, the success of the general system; and to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction."

*Resolved*, That by the general consent of the wise and virtuous of all nations, the framers of the Republic of the United States, exhibited in their individual characters and in the result of their public deliberations, a degree of virtue and a practical statesmanship, to which the history of the world affords no parallel; that in no part of the Federal compact is the wisdom of our fathers more conspicuous, than in leaving the whole question of slavery to the States in their separate capacities, and that in the provision for the

redelivery of fugitives escaped from labor or service, they demonstrated a sense of justice, an appreciation of the value of the Union, an attachment to its preservation, an avoidance of one-sided philanthropy and impracticable theories of government, which present a proper example for the guidance and imitation of us their descendants.

*Resolved*, That we look only to the Constitution, and the exposition thereof which has been afforded by the practices of Democratic administrations, for the chart of our policy. That these constitute, until the fundamental law is changed by methods which itself provides, the *highest law* of our obedience as citizens; and that we utterly discard that partial and exaggerated sympathy, the attempt to carry which into practice is at the peril of our dearest interests as a nation, and threatens the infliction of evils of tenfold magnitude to those which it proposes to heal.

*Resolved*, That the equality of the States is the vital element of the Constitution itself, and that all interference with the rights of the States, by those who seek to disregard the sacred guarantees of the past, and by all others, should be rebuked with the same spirit that would denounce and repudiate all attempts to erect odious distinctions between those who are entitled to share the blessings and benefits of our free institutions.

*Resolved*, That the effort to direct the power of the government by anti-slavery agitations, under the various names and phases of Free-Soilism, Anti-Nebraskaism, Fusionism, and Republicanism, and by interfering with the rights of conscience in establishing a religious test as a qualification for office, by the secret oath-bound society of the Know-Nothings, is opposed both to the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, and to the earnest teachings and practice of its earliest and most honored administrators.

*Resolved*, That we are now as ever unalterably opposed to the doctrines and designs of all organizations which contemplate the overthrow of the civil and religious rights of the citizen; that the equality of the citizen, like the equality of the States, is a sacred and inalienable right, never to be interfered with by factious parties and reckless legislation, without a subversion of the primary objects of our political system, and a repudiation of the guarantees of the past and the hopes of the future.

*Resolved*, That in the repeal of the act known as the Missouri Compromise Act, and the passage of the act organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, free from unconstitutional restrictions, the last Congress performed a work of patriotic sacrifice, in meeting the demands of sectional excitement by unshaken adherence to the fundamental law.

*Resolved*, That this legislation cannot be deemed unnecessary, but that it was expedient to meet the questions of which it disposed, and which could never admit of a more easy settlement than at present. That we recognize in it the application to the Territories of the United States of the rule of "equal and exact justice to all men," of all sections of the confederacy, which was designed by the framers of our government, and which was defined as one of its essential principles by the immortal Jefferson.

*Resolved*, That the Democracy of Pennsylvania, following the counsel of some of the wisest statesmen of the North and South, were ready on more than one occasion in the past to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, so as to make it the basis of a final settlement of the question of slavery in the Territories; but when this proposition was rejected, in 1848, on the ground that it involved an undue concession to the South, by the very men who now clamor for a restoration of the Missouri line, there seemed to be but one wise alternative left, and that was to refer the whole question of slavery in the territories to the people thereof, to be regulated as they may deem proper; and we, therefore, cheerfully extend our hearty support to the policy of the government as recognized in the Compromise Measures of 1850, and embodied in the laws organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

*Resolved*, That unerring indications point to the Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN—distinguished alike by his high personal character, his tried Democracy, his great abilities, experience, and eminent statesmanship—as the nation's choice for the office of President of the United States, for the term commencing on the 4th of March, 1857; and that we do hereby instruct our delegates to the National Convention to assemble in Cincinnati, in June next, to use their efforts to secure him the nomination of that office.

*Resolved*, That at a period when sectionalism in its worst aspects attempts to undermine the foundations of the Federal Constitution, and when an abolition majority aspires to supremacy in the popular branch of the National Legislature, and with the prospect of difficulties with foreign nations, who for their own purposes may seek to intercept and stay the progress of free institutions on this continent, in order that they may more effectually arrest the advancing footsteps of our republican example, the statesmanlike qualities of JAMES BUCHANAN—his long and well-tried services in defence of the Constitution—his intimate knowledge of all our relations with foreign countries—and his large and enlightened experience—point to him as pre-eminently the man to lead the victorious columns of the Democracy in November next.

*Resolved*, That we fully indorse the administration of President Pierce as national, faithful, and efficient—fully equal to all the important emergencies which the country has had to encounter, and that he has worthily maintained her interests and honor at home and abroad.

*Resolved*, That in the rise at home of factions based upon a single principle inimical to our government and Constitution, and in the stirring and warlike condition of the times, we behold dangers to our peace and prosperity, if not to our perpetuity, which should cause every good citizen to ponder well the steps of his political action; and that we earnestly invite the lover of his country, of whatever name or creed, to join us in upholding the Constitution in its purity, and transmitting it unimpaired to our successors.

*Resolved*, That whatever causes of dissatisfaction with the working of our laws and institutions may exist in different sections of the country, the proper remedy is to be sought in the temperate exercise of the right of discussion, and the ballot-box; that all other evils are insignificant in comparison with that of danger to the Union; that all others can wait the sure amelioration of time, if the Union be maintained; but that disunion would at once prove the destruction of our present interests and happiness as a people, and the death-knell of our hopes.

*Resolved*, That it was upon the soil of Pennsylvania that Independence was declared, and the Federal Constitution con-

structed, and that it therefore becomes, in a special sense, the duty of Pennsylvanians to watch over its safety, as secured by the great charter of the Union; to resist the first approaches of danger to its perpetuity, and forever to cherish and maintain it inviolate, as the palladium of our happiness, political, social, and civil.

*Resolved*, That all vacancies that may take place in the delegation at Cincinnati, now selected, shall be filled by a majority of the whole number there present, and that the said delegation shall have full power and authority among themselves to regulate by whom and how their votes shall be given in the Convention.

*Resolved*, That the Democratic State Central Committee shall require a pledge from each elector, to vote for the candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, who may be nominated by the Cincinnati Convention; and in case of the neglect or refusal of any elector so to do within a reasonable time, the State Central Committee be, and they are, hereby empowered to substitute.

The resolutions, amidst the greatest applause and enthusiasm, were unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. MONTGOMERY, of Montour, it was

*Resolved*, That this Convention now proceed to the nomination and selection of candidates for Canal Commissioner, Auditor-General, and Surveyor-General.

The following gentlemen were then placed in nomination for the office of

#### CANAL COMMISSIONER.

By Mr. Vanzant, of Bucks Co.—Mr. Ed. Nicholson.  
 By Mr. Applebaugh, of Bucks—Gen. Jos. Morrison.  
 By Mr. Stroecker, of Centre—Mr. Jno. T. Hoover.  
 By Mr. Harbeson, of Alleghany—David R. Williams.  
 By Mr. Snyder, of Blair—Adolphus Patterson.  
 By Mr. Hodgson, of Chester—Nimrod Strickland.  
 By Mr. Foster, of Schuylkill—Bernard Reilly.  
 By Mr. Montgomery, of Montour—Geo. Scott.  
 By Mr. Montgomery, of Northumberland—J. H. Zimmerman.  
 By Mr. Frost, of Fayette—Wm. Hatfield.

Mr. BIDDLE ROBERTS, of Alleghany, sent the following letter to the Clerk's desk, to be read for the information of the Convention :



## LETTER FROM DAVID R. WILLIAMS.

HARRISBURG, March 4th, 1856.

To the Alleghany Delegates :

GENTS—Desirous of aiding the unanimity of your deliberations, I beg leave to withdraw my name as a candidate for the office of Canal Commissioner.

Very respectfully, yours, truly,

DAVID R. WILLIAMS.

Mr. Williams's name was accordingly stricken from the list of nominations.

The Convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for Canal Commissioner, *viva voce*. The Clerk called the roll for the first time, with the following result :

George Scott	-	-	-	received	-	-	-	41
Nimrod Strickland	-	-	-	"	-	-	-	33
J. H. Zimmerman	-	-	-	"	-	-	-	15
Bernard Reilly	-	-	-	"	-	-	-	10
Jno. T. Hoover	-	-	-	"	-	-	-	7
Wm. Hatfield	-	-	-	"	-	-	-	7
Jos. Morrison	-	-	-	"	-	-	-	7
A. Patterson	-	-	-	"	-	-	-	6
E. Nicholson	-	-	-	"	-	-	-	6

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 132

Messrs. Hatfield, Hoover, Patterson, and Morrison were withdrawn.

Mr. BLACK, of Alleghany, had received a letter from Bernard Reilly, withdrawing his name as a candidate for the nomination for Canal Commissioner ; and, before presenting it, he desired to say, in behalf of that gentleman, and the sentiments contained in his letter, that it was an evidence of a spirit of devotion to the Democratic party, and of fidelity and trueness to the American government and the Constitution, from an adopted citizen of the United States, that many of those who were natives might well imitate and follow.

The letter was read, as follows :

## LETTER FROM BERNARD REILLY.

To the President and Members of the Democratic State Convention :

Gentlemen : In compliance with the earnest solicitation of many Democratic friends, I have suffered my name to be used in connection with the office of Canal Commissioner. In yielding my consent in this instance, I beg to assure you that it was not in accordance with the wishes of my own heart or the promptings of my own nature.

Aware of the difficulties with which an adopted citizen has to contend at all times, when he ceases to be “a hewer of wood, and drawer of water,” *to those who arrogate to themselves not only the exercise of the physical, but the mental energies of the adopted citizen*, I have no disposition to place myself at once contrary to my nature as a citizen, and derogatory to my dignity as a man. I am proud to be identified with the Democratic party as an humble co-laborer in the work of universal political freedom, because I believe the principles of that party to be in strict unison with the feelings of those who founded this mighty Republic. To remain in the ranks of that party as a worthy member, is the utmost of my ambition. At no period of my life have I supported the Democratic cause on account of political or personal preferment, but from a desire to subserve the best interests of my adopted country, to the success of whose interests I am bound by the most sacred ties that can bind humanity. I have cherished this feeling so long and so ardently, that it has become a sentiment—yea, I might, with propriety, add, a cardinal principle of my nature.

Coming as I did to this country, an infant, with all my associations here, having no home to love, or country to serve, but our beloved Union, it is to me the proudest of privileges to be not only called but considered a citizen.

It was under these influences, and these alone, I suffered my name to be used in connection with the office of Canal Commissioner. For myself I have no particular desire to be the nominee of your Convention.

With the decision of the Convention, whatever it may be, I shall be satisfied, and am willing to do battle manfully against the common enemy, for the Democratic party and its cherished

principles. I, therefore, wish that my name may be withdrawn as a candidate for Canal Commissioner, and trust, that every man will labor, as I shall, for the success of the Democratic party, both State and National.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BERNARD REILLY.

The Convention proceeded to a second vote, with the following result:

Mr. Scott	received	.	.	.	.	.	.	71
Strickland	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	49
Zimmerman	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
Nicholson	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
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Mr. Scott was thereupon declared to be duly nominated as the candidate of the Democratic party for Canal Commissioner.

On motion of Mr. Hopkins, the nomination was made unanimous.

#### AUDITOR-GENERAL.

The next business in order was the nomination of a candidate for Auditor-General.

The following gentlemen were placed in nomination—Messrs. Murray Whallon, John Rowe, H. L. Diefenbaugh, Joel B. Danner, Jacob Fry, Daniel B. Kane, and Wm. Workman.

The Convention then proceeded to the first vote, with the following result:

Mr. Jacob Fry	received	.	.	.	.	.	.	43
Murray Whallon	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	29
John Rowe	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	23
H. L. Diefenbaugh	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	12
Joel B. Danner	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	15
Wm. Workman	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	8
Daniel B. Kane	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
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Messrs. Joel B. Danner and Daniel Kane were withdrawn. The second ballot was as follows:

Mr. Jacob Fry	received	.	.	.	.	.	.	46
Murray Whallon	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	43
John Rowe	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	25
Wm. Workman	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
H. L. Diefenbaugh	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	8
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Messrs. Dieffenbaugh and Workman were withdrawn.

The Convention proceeded to a third vote, with the following result. Whole number of votes 130; necessary to a choice 66. Of these

Mr. Fry	received	. . . . .	57
Whallon	"	. . . . .	47
Rowe	"	. . . . .	26

There being no choice, the Convention proceeded to a fourth vote, with the following result. Whole number of votes 129; necessary to a choice 65. Of these

Mr. Fry	received	. . . . .	64
Whallon	"	. . . . .	46
Rowe	"	. . . . .	19

So there was no choice.

Mr. Rowe's name was withdrawn.

The Convention then proceeded to a fifth vote, with the following result. Whole number of votes, 129; necessary to a choice 65. Of these

Mr. Fry	received	. . . . .	78
Whallon	"	. . . . .	51

Mr. Fry, having received a majority of the votes cast, was thereupon declared duly nominated as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of Auditor-General.

On motion of Mr. Lamberton, the nomination was made unanimous.

The Convention then balloted for a candidate for Surveyor-General, with the following result :

	1st Ballot.	2d.	3d.	4th.
M. K. Boyer,	12	—	—	—
John Horn, Jr.,	6	—	—	—
Philip Johnson,	7	—	3	8
Wm. Fry,	9	—	—	—
J. W. Moore,	21	21	24	9
Hugh McKee,	13	14	—	—
John Hodgson,	4	—	—	—
Timothy Ives,	18	30	42	69
Thos. J. Rehrer,	13	—	—	—
Wm. T. Alexander,	21	25	32	40
Wm. S. Garvin,	5	—	—	5
Scattering,	—	35	32	—

Timothy Ives, of Potter County, having on the fourth ballot a majority of all the votes, was declared duly nominated.

The nomination was on motion made unanimous, after which

The Convention then adjourned to meet again at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order by the Chairman.

Mr. REILLY offered the following resolution, which was read and unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That the nomination of GEORGE SCOTT, of Columbia County, as the Democratic candidate for the office of Canal Commissioner; that of JACOB FRY, Jr., of Montgomery County, for the office of Auditor-General; and that of TIMOTHY IVES, of Potter County, for the office of Surveyor-General, be and the same are hereby unanimously ratified and confirmed by this Convention; that we confidently present these gentlemen to the people of the State as candidates in every way worthy of their confidence and support—knowing them, as we do, to be men of tried integrity, faithful in their devotion to Democratic principles, and well qualified to discharge the duties of the several offices for which they have been nominated.

Mr. REYNOLDS moved that the Chairman have power to appoint the State Central Committee after the Convention has adjourned, which was adopted.

Mr. PORTER moved that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to HENDRICK B. WRIGHT, for the ability and impartiality with which he has discharged his duties as Chairman of the Convention. Mr. P. took the vote on the motion, and it was unanimously adopted.

A resolution, offered by Mr. SNYDER, returning thanks to the members of the House of Representatives for the use of the Hall of the House, was also adopted.

The following resolution, offered by Mr. WELSH, was read and adopted.

*Resolved*, That this Convention appoint a Committee of Correspondence, to consist of five from each county, whose duty it shall be to communicate with the State Central Committee, and attend to such business as may be necessary to secure the triumph of the Democratic party in the approaching contest.

At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. BIDDLE read a telegraphic despatch from Hon. JOHN R. THOMSON, of New Jersey, that the Democratic members of the New Jersey Legislature had

unanimously passed a resolution declaring the Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN their choice for the Presidency. The reading of the despatch was received with shouts of applause.

Addresses were delivered by R. BIDDLE ROBERTS, of Alleghany, WM. F. PACKER, of Lycoming, JAMES M. PORTER, of Northampton, G. W. BREWER, of Franklin, W. H. WELSH, of York, S. W. BLACK and Hon. WM. WILKINS, of Alleghany.

Col. SAMUEL W. BLACK concluded his eloquent and able speech with the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That this Convention is unwilling to adjourn without a word of congratulation to Virginia. Her Governor, Hon. Henry A. Wise, reached his great office, the first open champion in such a contest,—who with light conquered darkness, and with generous and solid reason subdued intolerance and narrow prejudice.

The Convention, after an eloquent speech from the President, Col. Wright, adjourned *sine die*.

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## SPEECHES DELIVERED BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.

### SENATOR BIGLER'S SPEECH.

After stating that he consented to come into the Convention in no spirit of vanity or presumption, but in compliance with a call of his party, and which he had regarded as part of the programme of the proceedings, Mr. Bigler addressed the Convention substantially as follows :

I have, Mr. President, been delighted with the scene which I have witnessed here to-day,—viewed in all its aspects, it amounts almost to sublimity. The vast Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, every county and township is represented here—every interest of the State, and every element of her greatness, is represented here. Her sentiments are reflected here ; and she has declared, by one common voice of unity, not only in favor of certain measures and principles, but with equal unity as to the man who shall carry those principles into practice in the presidential chair. (Ap-

plause.) That man is James Buchanan,—who has so long been a favorite of Pennsylvania, and so long enjoyed the confidence of the Democracy of the entire country, and who is so intimately known to the Delegates in this Convention.

But, sir, before I proceed to speak with reference to the Candidate of this Convention, allow me to make allusion to the present position of the Democratic party. From the dawn of its organization to the present day,—the period of many a hard struggle; generally triumphant, but defeated occasionally,—contending always for the vindication of those liberal principles, on which our institutions are based; for the rights of citizens, and for the rights of the States; for those progressive and liberal ideas, which have made our country, in the elements of a great nation, superior to that of any other on the face of the earth,—I say, sir, in that long career, and through all those contests, the Democratic party never occupied a more dignified and commanding position than now. (Applause.) Just now, sir, in a distinct struggle for the constitutional rights of the States, and the rights of the citizens of the several States; guarding the individual in the enjoyment of the prerogatives and rights and immunities vouched to him by the Constitution; protecting him against the encroachments of bigotry and fanaticism; the sudden origin of parties and political dogmas may be the incident to our free institutions, to the freedom of the press, and the liberty of speech, and those singular changes of sentiment which occasionally bring temporary prostration to the Democratic party; but never, until recently, has that party been required to encounter principles so vicious, and measures so insidious, as those embraced by the new order, familiarly known as Know-Nothings—never to contend against principles so clearly anti-republican and anti-Christian. The duties and responsibilities of our party are the greater, because of these things. Indeed, sir, since the day that Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton fought the battle that inaugurated our republican institutions,—the latter contending for institutions similar to the British, with a president for life, and senators for life,—the Democratic party never had a more important work to perform. The opposition to that party, you are aware, by the origin of the Know-Nothing party, presents itself in two distinct branches: dissimilar entirely in their avowed purposes; dissimilar in their organization; and concurring only in one common sentiment of hostility to the Democratic party. These elements of opposition present an extraordinary spectacle: the one branch (the abolition) is concerned, deeply concerned for the elevation of the colored race; whilst the other (the Know-Nothing), by its intolerant doctrines, evinces an equal desire for the political degradation of a large class of white American citizens, because of the place of their birth, or the manner in which

they worship their God. (Applause.) To resist such issues—issues subversive of our whole republican system; of the great truths which make its foundation—is a work worthy of our noble party. It is not expected that I shall make a tedious argument on the doctrines of this new party; others will elaborate the topic. Indeed, sir, if rightly informed, its tenets of faith are so palpably political heresy, that they admit of no argument. They are antagonistic to free government; destructive of the constitutional rights of that large class of American citizens, who have selected and adopted America as their home and country. Their purpose is mainly illegal and unjust. The covenants we have made with the people of other countries, of whatever religions, by our laws inviting them here, cannot be violated with impunity. The proposition to proscribe such from office, or distinction, because of the place of their birth, or the character of their Christian belief, is manifestly unjust: it is bad faith and bad morals, illegal and revolutionary; only the more offensive, because of the secret and deceitful means employed in carrying it into practical effect. Whatever of error there may be in our system or policy of government, may be remedied. At least, the agitation of a remedy is legitimate; but the violation of faith to people whom we have invited here, would be a crying shame. Whilst denying the right of any class or sect of people, as such, to demand office, the Democratic party will maintain the political rights and religious freedom of all; leaving each to rely on his own merits and claims for office and honor. I am against the doctrines of this new order. I am against all secret societies, to accomplish political or partisan ends. They are vicious in their tendencies; inconsistent with the American character—with the best ends of American policy. My doctrines and those of my party on these points, are written in the Constitution. That instrument guarantees every American citizen in his political rights, and has given him an assurance of the opportunity of worshipping his God according to the dictates of conscience, under his own vine and fig-tree, where there shall be none to molest or make him afraid.

I shall now, very briefly, sir,—for we have no time to argue a case—allude to the other wing of the opposition to the Democratic party: I mean that wing which has shown a constant disposition to encroach upon the rights of those States who, differing in policy with us, still maintain the institution of domestic slavery,—that party which is constantly agitating the country in reference to the question of slavery, without presenting either a legal or practical remedy for the evils of which they complain—I mean the old Abolition party, with its recent accessions and alliances. On this, as on all other subjects of governmental policy, the wisdom and justice of the course of the Democratic party is made apparent by experience. We



have always held that the constitutional rights of States must be strictly observed and faithfully carried out; that the States have a right to dispose of the question of slavery at their own pleasure, and that they should not be annoyed in the exercise of that right; that interference by people of one State with the domestic institutions of another, is unwise and impolitic, and in controversion of the spirit of our national compact. In all the exigencies that have arisen on the slavery question, the Democratic party has, as you are aware, Mr. President, endeavored to act on these principles. In 1850, after the proposition to settle finally the question of slavery in the territory, by extending the Missouri line to the Pacific Ocean, had been repeatedly rejected by the very men who are now so clamorous about the repeal of the act of 1850, General Cass, an able statesman and tried patriot, urged his policy of transferring this dangerous controversy from the halls of Congress, to the people directly interested. This was not the introduction of a new idea in our system of government. It was the suggestion of a new application of an old idea, a great idea, the greatest in our system—the idea of self-government, as found in all our State institutions. This was to be the substitution for a mere arbitrary rule. A principle coextensive with all the territory we had then, or could ever acquire, and as imperishable as human institutions. It was simply that the sovereign people, resident in a territory, through their local representatives, without restraint or control from any quarter, should decide, whether they would have the institution of slavery or not. It was an extension of the right of self-government—that right exercised by the people of every State in the Union—a finality as to a principle on which this question was to be settled, and not as to its application. On this broad doctrine, the Democratic party has taken its position. It was in accordance with these doctrines and principles, that the Kansas and Nebraska bill was passed in 1854; and it is in conformity with the uniform perversity of our opponents, that those who denounced the Missouri line most, when it was adopted, should now be the loudest in their complaints at its repeal. This new policy of the Government is but permitting the citizen of a State, who immigrates to a territory, to carry with him all the rights of self-government, which he enjoyed as the inhabitant of a State; and, certainly, it will not be contended that the right of self-government, under the Constitution of the United States, is dependent upon locality, or restricted by locality. All the powers, not expressly granted to the United States, are reserved to the States, and the people; the term “people” applying as well to those who reside in a territory as to those in a State. It would be difficult for you or me, Mr. President, to show the difference between the extent of that reserved right when claimed for the citizen of a State, as

against the resident of a territory ; and I am sure, sir, it would be quite impossible to tell, why the inhabitant of a territory should be less capable of choosing and regulating his domestic institutions, than he who resides in a State; his fitness is no more dependent upon his place of residence, than is the extent of his rights. The right of a people of a territory, preparatory to admission into the Union as a State, to regulate the question of slavery as they please, to adopt or reject the institution, without molestation or influence from any quarter ; and that a territory, having the necessary population and a republican constitution, is entitled to admission into the Union irrespective of their decision on the slavery question, is the doctrine of the Democratic party. On this broad ground they intend to contest the next Presidential election ; on these sentiments, and the maintenance of the civil and religious liberty of the citizen, as guaranteed in our paramount laws, against the encroachments of Know-Nothingism, the issue will be taken.

But, in conclusion, I desire to allude briefly to the eminent statesman who has been presented so cordially to the nation by this Convention. He is, perhaps, personally known to every individual within the hall, as he is historically to the whole country and to the whole world. Mr. Buchanan comes before the country with a substantial character : the work of thirty years of public service. His eminent fitness for any station in the gift of the people, will not be denied by his vilest enemies. He possesses the peculiar characteristics of a great statesman, and he has a greatness peculiarly his own. He was not born to it, nor was it thrust upon him ; it is the work of his own expansive and sound mind—his safe judgment—his prudence, justice, and purity. Whether viewed as a representative in this hall, where he appeared as long ago as 1814, or as a representative in Congress, or in the Cabinet, or as a minister at a foreign court, these great qualities were uniformly manifested, and have given usefulness and beauty to his career. He is now proudly presented by his native State—presented with a unanimity and enthusiasm, which, sir, if fully understood in all parts of the Union, could scarcely fail to command his nomination. In my intercourse at Washington City, I am happy to say, I have heard but one sentiment as regards the candidate presented to the nation to-day, by the united Democracy of his native State, and that is the expression of uniform respect for his personal career, and confidence in his political integrity. While there are those from every part of the Union who prefer others, I have encountered none who seemed willing to object to Mr. Buchanan. They all admit his fitness, and the soundness of his political sentiments. (Applause.)

Of the claims of the State, others will speak. I have thus,

Mr. President, hastily and crudely expressed my views as to our principles, and my estimate of the man who I think should be the next Democratic candidate for the Presidency. (Great applause.) Called upon without an hours notice, my remarks are without arrangement or system.

#### SPEECH OF JUDGE WILKINS.

Judge WILKINS, amidst great applause, said, that he was unexpectedly called upon, having come here from the Senate Chamber, where his duty required his presence, merely to witness the close of the deliberations of the Convention, and have his heart gratified by their unanimity. He came for no other purpose than to enjoy that gratification, and to carry it home to distribute it to his neighbors and friends. He was not sorry, however, that he had been called upon, because it gave him an opportunity to say a word as to his own personal position. In his peculiar position, he thought it might be probable that any mention of his name might cause a suspicion that he was not sufficiently ardent in the nomination of Mr. Buchanan. He might not have been so in his endeavors to bring about the nomination of Mr. Buchanan, owing to the peculiar circumstances to which he referred, and with which many who heard him were acquainted; but those circumstances had been removed, and there was now no obstacle in the way to prevent him from declaring his ardent and hearty concurrence in the nomination made by the Convention. (Great applause.) There was no other circumstance in the world which would have cooled him towards James Buchanan, and now that that circumstance was removed, there never was, and is not now, in his heart the most trifling objection to the adoption of their nomination.\* (Applause.) He concurred in it with all his heart; and the declaration of this allegiance and loyalty which filled his breast at the nomination, made him happy in having an opportunity to avow it. He had known Mr. Buchanan a long while, and he had had the pleasure, notwithstanding the circumstance to which he had made a very slight allusion, to have been all along in perfect harmony and intimacy with him. He had been associated with him, and had always had the highest respect for him as a citizen—as a professional man—and as a statesman. It has been his honor to

\* The appearance of Mr. Wilkins, his fine style, and great age, made a profound impression upon the Convention. He is now past seventy-eight, has been a Senator in Congress, Minister to Russia, Secretary of War, and now sits as a State Senator for Alleghany County in the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The cause that induced him to "hold off" from Mr. Buchanan, was the fact, that Mr. Dallas, his (Mr. W.'s) brother-in-law, had also been named for President. As Mr. Dallas is not in the field, Mr. Wilkins goes with his State for James Buchanan.

follow in his footsteps. He had traced him through Europe. He had been at a foreign court, after Mr. Buchanan had represented the government of the United States there, with such unsullied and pre-eminent honor. Walking in his footsteps, many thousand miles from here, he could see, and plainly trace, the high respect which followed every official act of his, and the whole deportment of his private conduct. (Applause.) St. Petersburg was full of admiration of the American statesman; and so effectually did he perform his duties there, and so effectually did he endear this government to Russia, and so effectually did he arrange the commercial and diplomatic concerns of the two countries, that he left nothing in the world for him (Mr. Wilkins) to do but to state that he was his humble successor. He had preoccupied the ground and filled the demands of his government. Could he say more in his praise, or could he give a better reason for his hearty approval of the nomination of Mr. Buchanan? He had but heard—it had not been officially communicated to him—that the Convention had conferred upon him, in connection with others, the honor of office. (Cries of “Yes,” “Yes,” and applause.) Upon the faithful execution of this trust would rest the fulfilment of the wishes of those to whom he had the pleasure of addressing himself. No one who knew him could, and no one present must, for a moment withhold his credit to the emphatic assurance, that the trust reposed in him would be unerringly carried out, and faithfully fulfilled. (Cheers.)

#### SPEECH OF COL. SAMUEL W. BLACK.

Col. SAMUEL W. BLACK was greeted with loud and long-continued applause. He said:—

Mr. President, I trust that when it comes to the performance of a duty to the Democratic party and to our country, I shall always be ready and obedient to the call of those who have a right to command, and whom it is always my pleasure to obey. I thought, sir, yesterday, when the members of this Convention were gathered together for the first time within this Hall, that there was an auspicious omen, because there was an auspicious contradiction of a fact almost believed by every one present. It happened to notice it because, perhaps, my education has been different from that of others, and perhaps in the one great question which now stirs, and has stirred the heart of the country, I have been more deeply enlisted than other gentlemen here present.

The gentleman who first addressed the Convention, whom I have the honor to call my friend, touched on the question of Know-Nothingism. He touched it lightly, because time does not allow a weighty or tedious discussion; but, sir, when the question is

touched at all, every true Democrat, and every man who truly loves his country, feels himself painfully and pleasantly touched at the same time—painfully touched, as the body being pricked with a pin at the extremity of the finger, writhes through every string that upholds the heart (applause), and pleasantly, because we have obtained a full and glorious assurance that cannot and will not deceive us, that its days are numbered, and that to dust and ashes, the place of its birth, it shall speedily return, trampled upon by the heel of men, women, and children, that care for the common inheritance of freemen that we have derived from our fathers. (Applause.)

In what, sir, does it consist? because I start out without a theme, and I take up this, the most natural one that lies before me,—in what does it consist? In proscription of men because of their birth-place, and intolerant proscription of them because of the manner in which they see fit humbly to kneel down and ask the Almighty to forgive their numberless transgressions. (Great applause.) Now, sir, for the incident of which I have spoken, a contradiction to all that they say in regard to this persecuted and abused people. We were standing in an indiscriminate mass on yesterday morning, just such a one as you see here, when the Speaker of this House took his seat, and his gavel announced that members were to prepare for business; the crowd at first, pell mell, rushed towards the door, but in the next instant the minister of the Almighty raised his hand and voice in prayer, and instantly, Protestant and Catholic, put his hand upon his heart and prayed, in common with him, for the perpetuity of our country, and the advance of those free institutions enjoyed under our Constitution and our flag. (Applause.) The scene was dramatic, but, sir, it was to the life, and if any man's attention had been called to it, he must have been less than human if his heart had not filled with warm emotions, and a tear of true sympathy had not stood in his eye, powerless to move because his whole nature was fixed by the grave and glorious, yet simple spectacle. (Cheers.)

Now, sir, in regard to this question of Know-Nothingism; if I do not run into a tedious speech instead of making a few desultory remarks—(cries of No! no!)—I beg leave, since I have made this my starting-point, to call the attention of gentlemen to a few facts from the record which can neither dissemble nor lie. I heard a respectable gentleman in this Hall, within the last three or four weeks, when I happened to be in Harrisburg, make an earnest and anxious and sometimes a very eloquent appeal on behalf of the Bible. He belonged to that peculiar Native American party which, whether dark or secret, whether open or silent, I neither know nor care, but I can tell them, whatever it may be, they will find before the year is ended that it is a dead

open and shut. (Applause and laughter.) This party claims to be directed and governed by the Bible. Why, sir, I happened to find a Bible under one of the member's desks, not under that of the gentleman to whom I have alluded, however, and I looked at that very part which the Jews consider very unkind and very sectional—a system commonly known as the Mosaic economy—and in that you will find more than six or seven times within a few different books, the command laid down to the Children of Israel, in regard to the treatment of the stranger. And what was the character of the strangers, so far as that character had any relation to the people who were to receive them? Why, they were all alien enemies; they constituted the nations that surrounded the favored people, and yet here is the command given over and over again, that “the stranger that is within thy gates thou shalt not vex him, or oppress him,” and the reason given is, “for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt, thus saith the Lord, thy God.” (Great applause.) Again, “love ye, therefore, the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.” Let us apply these commands to ourselves. Our fathers came to this country pilgrims for the sake of personal freedom, for the sake of political freedom, for the sake of religious freedom, for the sake of the poor right of a poor sinner to seek his own way to heaven; they were of their own consent banished to a wilderness; they were strangers in a strange land, and yet these “Children of the Star Spangled Banner,” who will let no others live under its light, these “children” undertake to say, and that in the hardest, cruellest, and most proscriptive manner, that the Bible authorizes, nay, commands them to vex and oppress the stranger who comes here to seek a home with the very same object as that our fathers had in view, and upon the very same shore. (Applause.)

I will not stop, however, to argue this; nor will I run through the New Testament, for there is neither time, nor is this the occasion to undertake it; but, if you will look at all the doctrines taught by the New Testament, you will find them the same. Our Saviour winds them up in his last words to his disciples, when he bids them to go into lands where he himself had never been: “Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.” He himself repudiating the Know-Nothingism that would have kept them with their good things at home, and repudiating Know-Nothingism even in the lands to which they were sent. (Applause.) Now, I myself feel a little on this subject, for a reason. I am a son of an Irishman. (Applause.) I heard a very respected friend of mine, who happened to be born surrounded by the billows, on the Green Isle—I heard him say that an Irishman's son was not half as good as an Irishman, because he was *second-handed*. (Laughter and applause.) Well, sir, I

will admit, that, perhaps, the son is not as good as the father on that account; but we must endeavor to be as good as we can. I put this plain, practical argument, in a plain way, to the sons of foreigners, whether they are the sons of Irishmen, of Frenchmen, or of Germans, I care not whose sons they are, or from what country their ancestors may have come, I put this question in a plain and simple way to them: How much better, do you think, you are, than your fathers? (Applause.)

Why, if I, at home in Alleghany County, was to pretend that I was, or ever hoped, to be half as good a man as my father, the people would rise up and drive me from amongst them. And yet, if I am a Know-Nothing, I must go and say, nay, go and swear, that I am fit to be a citizen—I am fit to hold office, but that that beloved and respectable old gentleman, my father, was not! I ask every son of a foreigner who enters into a Know-Nothing lodge, if, as he passes over the threshold of the door, he does not, on taking that step, trample on the grave of his father, and tread dishonor upon the name of him from whom he derived his existence. (Cheers.) Let us apply to this act some more Scripture; for, I confess, that, poorly as I follow it, I do like to get into a talk about it. Let us see what it promises to those who dishonor their father. In the fifth commandment is laid down, in the most solemn language that inspiration could draw it, the command contained in the decalogue, renewed and repeated in the New Testament: “Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God hath given thee;”—the first commandment that contains a promise, and the only one. (Applause.) Now, sir, what is the reverse and the opposite of this? It is: “Dishonor thy fathers and thy mothers, ye sons of the ‘Star Spangled Banner,’ that your days may be short in the land which the Lord your God has given you.” (Great applause.) And I am glad that their days *are* short! (Laughter and applause) and they themselves should, with a double gratitude, thank Providence, that their days are short, through our means, and that they have fallen into our hands, and not into the hands of the Almighty. (Renewed laughter and applause.)

I will now pass to another instrument which I like to dwell upon, and that is this (pointing to a book which he held in his hands)—the Constitution of the United States. Why, sir, when I wanted to find this book, I had only to look under the desk where I found the Bible, and it was there too. How they always go together! Wherever you see a member of the Assembly, or Congress, who has the Bible under his desk, you may always take it for granted as a certainty, that, alongside of that Bible, you will find the Constitution. (Applause.) For no man who

violates the one can keep the other ; and no one who keeps the one, will violate the other. (Applause.)

Now, sir, I undertake to say—but perhaps I trespass ? (Cries of “ Oh, no ! ” and “ Go on ! ”) I undertake to say, that in this instrument, in the Farewell Address of Washington, and in the Declaration of Independence, which preceded this government, there is not one word that encourages that idea, called the American idea, but all and each of them are in contradiction and rebuke of it. If you begin with the Declaration of Independence (I will not stop to refer to it, for you are all familiar with it), that in that Declaration, dated the 4th day of July, 1776, there is nothing but one spirit of universal brotherhood, one spirit of universal manhood, one spirit of universal and unrestrained patriotism for a new-born and common country. But in the Constitution, from the first article to the last, there is no word that encourages Know-Nothingism, or proscription of a man because of his birth, but the very reverse, and there is that which meets and repels any such idea. Now it is sometimes very important, in ascertaining what is meant by an instrument, to look at the heading with which it commences, to the declaration of purpose contained at the beginning : and let me call your attention to this one. “ We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution.” As large, as wide, as comprehensive in its terms and language as it is possible to make it. It does not say the citizen—it does not say the “ Natives ”—it does not say the men who have resided here twenty-one years—it does not say that a man must be dug out of the soil like mud-turtles. (Applause.) For I heard a man good-naturedly call the Know-Nothing party the mud-turtle party. “ We, the people.” Who comprise the people ? Why men born here and every day coming here from distant shores, the German, Frenchman and Englishman, who flees from the oppression under which he suffers in his own country to find a home in ours, and the Irishman who will hunt everywhere for freedom until he finds it. (Applause.) All of these were included in the one common name of equality, “ We, the people.” They made the Constitution. I now ask your attention to two sections, and two alone, and before doing so, I beg leave to say, that at the adoption of the Constitution, all other things being equal, he having remained in the country, General Lafayette was as eligible to the Presidency of the United States as George Washington. That is, that the first President of the United States might have been born in any foreign country you please, and if other things were equal, he was eligible to that



high and honorable seat which was first occupied by the Father of his Country; and so in regard to the office of Senator.

There is not one word said in regard to them beyond this: "That no person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he was chosen." Now, what does this mean? Why it means that if a man was born abroad, and was twenty-one years of age, and had been nine years a resident, that he could be a Senator of the United States; for at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, no naturalization law had been passed. But it is sufficient for my purpose to say, that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution no naturalization laws had been passed, and that the word "citizens" meant persons in common, whether born here or abroad. Then, what was necessary to make a man eligible to be a Senator of the United States? Why, that he should be thirty years of age, and should be nine years a resident of the State for which he should be chosen after he had attained the age of twenty-one years. No more was required under the Constitution of 1789. But further and far more important is the section in regard to the President of the United States, which reads, that "No person except a native born citizen or a citizen of the United States at the adoption of this Constitution shall be eligible to the office of President,—neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of 35 years, and been fourteen years a resident of the United States." Now mark all these restrictions: "No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution." Any man who was a citizen at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, could be President of the United States; but there is a further condition required, and that is this: that he shall have been for fourteen years a resident of the United States, whether he was a native or natural born citizen, or whether he was an adopted citizen. Why this, sir? For a very good reason. The first blood in the cause of our country, was shed in 1775. Gen. Washington took command of the American army at Boston, on the first of June, 1775, and at that time a great many natives and a great many foreigners had adopted the side of the United States, and at that time a great many, whether natives or foreigners, instead of adopting the side of struggling weakness, shamefully fled their country, and lived around the Court at London, like flies around a putrid carcass, and there remained until after peace was declared, or at all events, until after peace and Independence were within the grasp of the country. You will see that from 1775 to 1789 is just fourteen years, the time required that a man shall be a resident of the country, and a man having

left home because of the thick clouds that gathered in dire and dreadful darkness over the heads of the patriotic, was to be precluded because of his cowardice and want of love for his country, from coming in and enjoying the benefits and rights conferred upon other citizens when the Constitution was adopted. So that you see that whilst the Constitution makes no distinction between men, whether born here or abroad, yet it does make this distinction, that those men who run away from the dangers that threatened our institutions, forfeited the most glorious and richest part of its inheritance. (Applause.) Now Mr. President, I will not stop to discuss this matter further, but pass on to another question of some interest, not omitting to say, however, before I bid the subject farewell, that I do hope that if there is within the sound of my voice a single Know-Nothing, son of a foreign born father, that father being living or dead, he will, for the sake of his father's good name, and his own character, turn from the evil of his ways. We open the books for the campaign of '56. The day dawns, the shadows flee away; let all that will, come in, and, although we will not make them Presidents we will let the worst of them occupy a place on this platform, the platform of our general rights, and join with us to promote the honor and interests of the country. This one question is deeply involved in the campaign of 1856. I have touched it, not elaborated it, and I will not weary you by elaborating it; but bear this in mind, that this question is an important one for this campaign, and one that we will have to meet. These men who belong to the so-called American party, whether it is the dark or light party, I do not care which—bless me, how would these glorious jets of light (pointing to the chandeliers), that resemble the stars of heaven, look in the cellar of a Know-Nothing Lodge? (applause)—have arrayed themselves in opposition to us, and will have to be met. They have nominated Mr. Fillmore. He is called an open and shut candidate, a candidate of the Northern American party, and it is very clear that before long the Northern or Black Republican portion of the party will have a separate candidate, and that other organizations of the isms of the day will be attempted. Fusions, and unions even, may be tried, and most "fantastic tricks" to gather the elements of mischief, discord and division into a solid mass, to be arrayed against us. But divided or united, we are prepared to meet them, and under the lead of the candidate named this day, to achieve a great and enduring victory.

Well, then, we go into the campaign with a full heart and a high hope. And why, sir? Because the principles that we hold near and dear, and which have been so long highly cherished, are all at stake, and because, we believe that in the struggle we shall advance the interests of the entire country from one extre-

mity to the other. We go into it for our own sakes and the sakes of those who are to come after us. We go into it for the sake of the Constitution, for the sake of the flag of our country—all, all of these are involved in the one great struggle that the Democracy will have to make against a common enemy. Why do we conceive it possible that the opposition may unite? For this reason, they have no bond of union but one; and what is that bond of union? Is it love for each other? No; it is a common hatred to the Democratic party. (Great applause.) And while every other sentiment in the heart may die, they say to you, sir, that hatred never dies. That evil, sir, which has existed from the fall to the present day in the human heart, the passion of hate, has had no death and never found a grave. Sometimes it sleeps, but you may rest assured that it dies—never! Why do I say that we go into it with high hopes? Why, because at last the hopes of Pennsylvania are almost realized. (Applause.) At last we begin to feel and see that the central State of the Union has not been ostracized by the States that surround her in a bright and glorious constellation. We begin to feel that he, whose voice has been so often heard at home, and whose pen, with letters of living light, has written lines for the glory of his country—that he who is our champion, our leader, our heart's best hope, is about to be advanced to that high position for which God, nature and capacity have designed him. (Applause long and loud.)

Mr. President: In regard to the Slavery question, I will not say anything now except this, that I do not agree altogether with you in the views you have submitted. I say this with great respect, for our relations so far on this floor have been pleasant, as your elevation to the Presidency of this body has been most agreeable to me. I say that the great question of Slavery is now to be met because the issue is a national one, and whenever it comes, the Democratic party is never afraid to meet it. And on what grounds will they meet it, sir? On the grounds of popular sovereignty, in the territories as well as in the States—on the ground that the people have the right to establish whatever sort of domestic government they please within their own borders, whether they exist as a republic independent, as a republic connected, or as a territory established under our system, by an act of the general government, in Congress assembled. Now, sir, we go into this Convention asserting that the people of every territory of this Union have the right to establish whatever form of domestic government they please, always provided that they keep within the limits of the Constitution of the United States. If they choose to prohibit slavery, they can do it. If they choose to tolerate or establish it, they can do it. The general government can take no notice of it, as I contend, either at the

time it exists in a territory, or when that territory knocks at the door of the Union for admission as a State. At any time, if the people apply for admission into the Union, having conformed to all the laws that are necessary and applicable, the general government is bound to admit them, whether they apply with a slave constitution or a free constitution; and I think he is not a wise statesman, North or South, who contends for the right of the government at Washington to reject them. Under the Constitution they are admissible, and I do not think that it becomes a legislature, which is the creature of yesterday, to put limits and conditions upon them not contained in the Constitution. (Applause.) Why, sir, suppose that a territory applies for admission into the Union with a Constitution that punishes murder with death, and another applies for admission with a Constitution that punishes murder with imprisonment, I would like to know what right the general government would have to reject either, because of that peculiar domestic law with which the Constitution and laws of the United States have nothing to do. But it may be said slavery is a different affair—that it is a domestic institution to be sure and to be governed as such as much as the punishment of crimes, but that it is also a moral question—that slavery is at war with the Bible; and hence it is the duty of the general government to reject every slave State on moral grounds. But, you will find just as many men in this country to contend that it is a gross immorality to punish murder with anything else than imprisonment, while others quote the Bible to prove that it ought to be punished with death. Hence, I say, giving this as an illustration, that the matter should be left to the people who are immediately concerned in it; and if it is the will of a majority of the people in a territory applying for admission, to incorporate the institution of slavery into their Constitution, it is competent for them under the Constitution of the United States to do so, and the States have no right to object or interfere. (Applause.)

It may be remarked as strange, that I should utter the sentiment at this late day, but, I believe, the Missouri Compromise was wrong at the start. I believe, that Congress had no right to pass it; that it contained provisions which they had no power to make; and, I think, it ill becomes those who with one accord opposed its adoption, now to clasp it to their hearts, the only thing that can there find affection, and to clamor for its restoration, as if God would never prosper them without it. Of all the Northern men who voted for that Compromise, and they were very few, there was but one or two, I think, who did not find a political grave, and their resurrection has not come yet. Henry Baldwin was returned, and he was saved, in spite of his vote on the Compromise, only by his adherence to the tariff, which, at that day,

was considered of more importance to Pennsylvania than the Slavery question, or any other question in which the country was at that time interested. If I have left out the name of any other, I hope I will be corrected; but I say, that, with the exception of Henry Baldwin, and one other, all the rest went down head foremost, and tail afterwards, and the last that was seen of them was a little bit of tail as the billows closed around them. Now, I know that I have detained you too long, and I will bring my remarks to a conclusion. But allow me to say, before I quit, that I heard to-night a word of encouragement as a friend and myself walked up the avenue leading to the Capitol, which came from a man just returning from work. I declare I do not know when anything went to my heart so quickly as this remark of that man, whose hands were blackened with a long day of severe toil, whose sleeves were even yet not turned down, although the air was cold and searching, and he carried his lantern in one hand, and his tin bucket in the other, which held his dinner. As we passed him, he turned to his companion, and said: "Well, all I have to say is, that, if Jimmy Buchanan is our candidate, we'll knock the noise and thunder out of them." Well, sir, it is true, that is exactly what we will knock out of them. We will knock the noise out of them; the thunder is already gone; and, then, we will infuse them with new life, enlist them in favor of Democratic principles, and raise them up, and strengthen them by kind treatment into the same true love for the Constitution that you, sir, and I, and all of us, possess. Next to the Holy Book, from which I have ventured to quote, poor sinner that I am—next to it, is the Constitution of our beloved country. (Applause.) Give me, oh, give me, a starless night, and a sunless day, and a long and weary life, hopeful only at its close: give me and my children all this, but, oh, preserve untouched, unchanged, and untrampled upon, Washington's Constitution of our country. (Applause.)

#### SPEECH OF HON. C. R. BUCKALEW.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention! It is scarcely a fit thing to set cold meats before a company after a feast. But, sir, this is an occasion, when the feeble may stand up, and even the ill come forward. I have but little to say, and as I have been much in the habit, of recent years, of speaking to business questions, and confining myself to the question, I shall do so at this time.

Mr. President! This Convention is composed of one hundred and thirty-three members. It is full. No delegate is absent from his place in this Hall. Upon the first vote for the selection of a candidate to be presented by Pennsylvania to her sister

States, one hundred and twenty-eight gentlemen are placed upon the record in favor of a distinguished personage not now resident within the limits of our State, although a native of it; nor within the limits of the United States or contiguous territory, but located beyond three thousand miles of dreary water from us, and there discharging, with distinguished ability, the duties attached to the position which he holds. No intrigue attaches to this nomination. It has not been begotten in caucus nor in the brain of any human being who expected therefrom personal advantage or promotion. Whatever may have been said of previous Conventions in this Commonwealth, or elsewhere; whatever of reproach, or of doubt, may have been heretofore attached to any transaction, in which our proud and gallant party has been concerned, this transaction, this event, stands upon an elevation where reproach does not approach it. (Great applause.)

Sir! From whence comes this nomination by the Convention here assembled? It comes from the hearts and the judgments of the people of Pennsylvania. (Cheers.) That is the quarter from whence it proceeds, and here is the proof of it. One hundred and twenty-eight votes of this body, lacking but five of the entire number, were given with promptness and alacrity for the nominee of the Convention. Four gentlemen voted, under the pressure of instructions, for another; but, immediately afterwards, after that technical duty was discharged, they enrolled themselves along with their colleagues for the candidate nominated. One gentleman only did not join in the nomination, but he is just as certainly committed, and just as sure eventually to be enrolled with the others, as any future event can be certain. He voted for the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention. We have him there! (Applause.)

Mr. President! This has been the action of the Convention. Thus much has been done, and well done. It has been accomplished at the right time and in the right way. It has proceeded from just and proper motives, and is emphatically sanctioned by, and based upon, the judgment and convictions of the people. Now, sir, what next? Another duty of this Convention will be to select gentlemen to represent our Commonwealth—our State—in the Convention at Cincinnati. They will go there, charged with the message which we have prepared. And what is that message? It is to ask of the assembled representatives of the thirty-odd States of the Union, to concur with us in this work which we have begun, in all honesty and in all earnestness; with deep conviction of its justice, of its wisdom, and of the necessity which has suggested it, and which sanctions it. We have spoken here, and our speech has been put upon record. And there has been sent trembling along the wires, with the swiftness of lightning, to the remotest corners of the confederacy, this voice, thus uttered.

What next? As a business question—for I am speaking with that idea predominant—what next is to be done? Why, sir, we are to convince our party friends in other States that we are right, and that duty and policy require them to go in with us. That is the point to which our common and united efforts should now be directed. And of what can we assure them to induce them to go in with us in the action proposed? Why, we can assure them, with united voice and without hesitation, that the electoral vote of this State will be given to the candidate whom we have named. We can tell them, with entire truth, that members of the opposite party, by hundreds and thousands, have been considering the nomination of Mr. Buchanan, and stand ready to indorse it. If he be nominated, they are with us. I know many such. I have heard, and others have heard, many such voices of late, of active members of what was recently the Whig party. This nomination, therefore, has strength vastly beyond the limits of our own party. It grasps and collects the suffrages of honest, independent, patriotic men, who have never before been with us. What more need we urge upon the Democratic party of other States, and those representing it? Why, sir, we can point them to the fact, that, at this moment, from the Atlantic coast westward, through all the central States, where the battle of the Constitution is to be fought out, there is no man who can be named as the peer and equal, on grounds of fitness, of the candidate whom we have named. The distinguished citizen of Michigan, long and favorably known to our people, is not before the country in connection with this subject. Excepting one or two of all the great men who commenced public life thirty or forty years ago—of all that band of worthies that have distinguished the history of our own State, or of the General Government, from these Middle States, and especially from Pennsylvania, there is but one proud, bold head yet above the waves. (Applause.) Some of them have been struck down by the hand of death; some have fallen away from us in the presence of hot contests, and, from apostates at first, have become open and eventually insignificant enemies. (Applause.) And some have been found otherwise unfit for or unworthy of the continued confidence and respect of the people. But, sir, through all the vicissitudes, when our glance has gone abroad in search of the faithful and the great, one figure has fixed attention and commanded respect. There has been with him a steady virtue and a mental power that have confounded his enemies, and fixed him firmly in the affections of the people.

When we have looked, of recent years, for one who stood up like a whole man in former times and yet stands up; who has travelled through the storm and the tempest with unimpaired powers and popularity, but one man meets the expected gaze,

and that man is James Buchanan. (Applause.) Sir, our people have been thinking of this thing for some years. They have thought upon it earnestly, they have turned it over in their minds as they pursued their avocations in their respective neighborhoods, and they have expressed here to-day, through their delegates, the conclusions to which they have come. May we not trust that this voice, thus intelligent and thus decided, will be respected by our sister States when they assemble in council in June next. Yes, sir, there is no other candidate in the central portion of the Union who can be presented as the fair and equal competitor of the choice of this Convention; no other man about whose name such recollections, such evidences of fidelity and ability are gathered, as his who is now proposed as our standard-bearer in the coming campaign, and who will secure to us, if nominated, a signal triumph.

But what more? When I read, either backwards or forwards, the History of our Commonwealth, I perceive, and afterwards recollect, one important and striking fact, and it is this:—that while the little coast-bound State of Massachusetts and the State of Virginia, inferior to our own in many respects, have often furnished incumbents for the Presidential chair, our own State has been entirely overlooked, if not forgotten. We have occasionally reminded our brethren of the other States of some moderate and modest pretensions which we hold to on this subject, but for one reason or another they have never yet received their attention, and they have not acceded to our wishes.

Sir, the time has come when this favor ought no longer to be refused to this noble State of ours. (Applause.) The time has come when a fair claim of right arises on our behalf, and when it is our duty, founded upon self-respect, to urge it with zeal and a determination that it shall be acknowledged. There are reasons why Pennsylvania should be listened to by the other States. In the most critical moment of every political engagement, of every political contest, since the foundation of our General Government, to what point of the Union has the anxious, strained gaze of the Democratic party been turned? Whither? Why, sir, in a letter of Mr. Jefferson's—written in the dark and stormy days when he lifted up that flag which those who came after him have held up since—he wrote:—"Let but Virginia maintain her position and Pennsylvania stand firm upon her basis, and our Union will be perpetual and our prosperity boundless." (Great applause.) Yes, sir, there was then an anxious, patriotic eye turned from the heights of Monticello towards Pennsylvania, in hope, for the rescue of principle from the contests of faction. Away back, half a century ago, the sagacity of Mr. Jefferson discovered in this State the foundation upon which Republicanism could safely rest; he pronounced his judgment that so long



as she stood with Virginia upon solid principles everything was well, and the prosperity of the country secure and certain. It has been so since. In every party emergency, when the cause of the Republican or Democratic party looked dim and doubtful, when faint hearts failed, when the treacherous fell from us, and the feeble halted in their course, Pennsylvania was looked to as the point from which redemption must come. Sir, we have ordinarily been faithful to these expectations. Time after time, when the battle was doubtful, and threatened to go against our party, Pennsylvania came forward and grasped victory from the jaws of despair. We have also in other respects performed our duty to our sister States and to the Union. No State stood forward more promptly to form the Constitution and Government of the United States; to establish solid, benevolent and patriotic principles as the basis of this structure, which has become the admiration of the world. We have, sir, assisted our sister States when their interests were involved or their rights in jeopardy. To protect the Virginia frontier and Kentucky settlements against the treacherous savage, our soldiers rushed into the wilderness under "Mad Anthony Wayne." In the War of 1812, in the western wilderness, along the northern lakes, and upon the Atlantic seaboard, Pennsylvanians were found laboring and suffering to uphold the common interests of the States and maintain the honor of the national flag. Sir, there are many here to whom I may appeal as witnesses, that in the more recent struggle in which our nation was involved, on a distant soil, under a tropical sun, from the shores of the Gulf far away into the interior of Mexico, the Pennsylvania volunteers plodded their weary way, fighting when required, suffering where suffering was to be endured, and zealously assisting to uphold the American character for fortitude and prowess before the civilized world. Why, sir, upon an appeal from Simon Snyder, the Democratic Governor of this State, at a time when Massachusetts refused her jails to the General Government for prisoners of war, our Legislature opened ours wide for national use, and gave an additional evidence of that patriotic spirit which I trust will always be characteristic of our people.

We have been very much complimented, sir. We have received compliments without number. This State has been literally loaded with them. She has been complimented during her whole history, for half a century, for her steadiness of purpose, her devotion to the Union, the valor of her sons, and for all those public virtues that elevate a State and make her admired and respected among the nations.

Have you not heard it said just before an important national election, that "As Pennsylvania goes so goes the Union," as goes Pennsylvania so is the result? and the hearts of our brethren

in other States have been made to dance with joy when Pennsylvania *has gone* as they desired her to go. Yes, sir, they have rejoiced exceedingly, and been deeply grateful for our efforts, devotion and zeal. I speak in all kindness, with a proper appreciation of these compliments which have been showered upon us. We have been assigned a very important position in what is designated as the "federal arch" (an expression which I confess I have never exactly comprehended). This State has been called the keystone of that arch, which holds it in its place, and without which it would crumble into ruins, without which everything would go to destruction connected with it. We have been told that upon this State has rested the Republican system of government: that it has been constituted the base of it, and that our steady and solid population are to be relied upon under all circumstances. All this is well enough, and agreeable enough, but we can afford to dispense with further compliments, and, therefore, what we now ask of our sister States of the Union, is this: that waiving all pleasant words, the coinage of kindness, politeness, or gratitude, they give us the request that we are about to make of them. (Loud and long-continued applause.) We ask them to do this as no special or sole favor to Pennsylvania, but as a thing in itself honest, honorable, and without reproach, and above all, as one in which their welfare and our own are jointly and mutually interested.

Mr. President, they will do it. Sir, the Convention that is to meet in June next, will do it. I venture to pronounce this upon evidence that appears conclusive to my own mind. I venture to pronounce it upon information received from other quarters of the Union. I venture to pronounce it, because it is so reasonable and just a thing, that I believe the Democratic party will not miss doing it. I believe it will be done, because it is seen, and can be seen, by all intelligent members of our party in all parts of the Union, that the nomination of Mr. Buchanan gives us a political position so broad and strong, that all the power of the combined political opposition in the country cannot prevail against us. Be it understood, then, in the first place, that Pennsylvania, in this nomination, is in earnest; in the next, that she is thoroughly united; and, in the last, that, in her judgment, it would be unwise, and possibly disastrous, for other States to refuse a concurrence in her action.

I have spoken suddenly and impromptu, and have addressed myself simply to the duties of the occasion imposed on members of this Convention and those chosen by them to represent the popular will. I say to all, there is a public, national duty upon us to unite in securing the nomination of Mr. Buchanan, at Cincinnati. The reasons for it are many and weighty; but I have only glanced at some of those most prominent and obvious.

Suffice it to say, our hearts and judgments sanction this whole movement. Together, heart and soul, without faction, without opposition, without divisions, ay, sir, without a protest, we go into this thing, and we ask that the other States, for their own interest and honor, as well as ours, and for the success of our party, may join with us, and permit the people of Pennsylvania to show what kind of a majority they can give for a Pennsylvania candidate for President of the United States. (Great cheering.)

SPEECH OF HON. WM. MONTGOMERY, OF WASHINGTON COUNTY.

MR. PRESIDENT:—I regret, sir, that the misplaced kindness of my friends has intruded my name upon this Convention. For several weeks my constant attention has been devoted to the duties of my profession, and I am entirely out of practice as a political speaker. It is true that I must plead guilty of having, occasionally, in times of high political excitement, participated in the discussion of the great political questions on which the nation has been divided, but the thoughts of other times, like most of the political organizations arrayed against us, have passed away, and will no more avail me now, than would the political sentiments of Henry Clay or Daniel Webster avail the Know-Nothing Republicans of the present time. (Cheers.)

It would be embarrassing to be called upon to address you after the displays of eloquence to which you have just listened. Who would not shrink from the task of speaking after such men as Governor Bigler, Col. Black, and Chas. R. Buckalew, men acknowledged as the ablest debaters and first orators of the nation.

I feel that it would be as the Irishman said of the frog, "taking long leaps for the length of my legs," to attempt to address you after such men. It is a very different thing to address a Convention composed of the highest talents of Pennsylvania, to speaking in my native county, among my friends and neighbors, from the hills, who will forgive my errors and imperfections.

The whole political field, too, has been already passed in review, so that there is hardly sufficient space left me, even for a "towing hook improvement."

But a short speech is as easy to make as a short apology. And, although I will not, at this late hour, undertake to make you a political argument, you will pardon a few remarks on the life of that greatest living American statesman—James Buchanan. We are emphatically a "fast people," and we all begin to feel that we have been progressing too rapidly, and the masses, with one accord, demand of "Young America" to halt in his

headlong career. We must go back to the true and tried statesmen of the past. We must have a candidate for the Presidency in whom the people can confide. A man whose character will be a guarantee to the farmer, the mechanic, the merchant, in short, to all classes, that our national institutions and our national honor will be preserved and defended. (Cheers.) We want a man for the Presidency, the force of whose exalted character, and the history of whose past life has inspired the confidence, and won the admiration of friend and enemy. Such a man is now sought by the nation, without distinction of party. And such a man the people have found in him whom we all delight to call "Pennsylvania's favorite son." (Cheers.)

In past times it has been customary with our opponents, to ask who our candidate was ; but such will not be the case after the nomination of James Buchanan. The memory of his glorious deeds is interwoven with the brightest pages of national history. And his fame as a statesman will live with the legislation of the last quarter of a century. (Cheers.)

Sixty-five years ago, when the broad and beautiful valley around us was comparatively a wilderness, in a rude log cabin, in Franklin County, James Buchanan was born. The vigorous arm of his father had felled the forest trees, and heaven's sunlight fell on the little clearing that surrounded his humble house. A few years afterwards, if you had visited that spot, you might have witnessed the gambols of a flaxen-headed boy, in the innocence of childhood, as he threaded the paths of the gloomy old forest, chasing the butterfly and plucking the wild flower. Who that had then gazed upon that child, would have predicted that he one day was to be the greatest living statesman of America? What a beautiful commentary it furnishes on the institutions of our country ! The log-cabin boy, with the laughing cheek and open brow of that day, has become the calm, dignified statesman of the present, with a fame as extended as civilization ; and a free people are about to elevate him to a position, far higher in dignity and honor, than that held by the most powerful sovereign in Europe. (Cheers.)

James Buchanan was born in full view of the mountain ranges, whose lofty summits, "resting on the sky," doubtless awakened in his infant mind the first ideas of the sublimity of nature. The lofty forest trees, in whose shade he rested from his toils, the mournful music of the wind as it swept through the leafless branches in Autumn—the gloom of Winter—the blossoms that sprung from the soil in early Spring—all called for his patient study, and impressed his mind with that stately and solemn dignity, which, in after years, "held listening senates in awe." (Cheers.) Such, Mr. President, was *little* James Buchanan.

Years pass by, and the little cabin-boy has become a man. And we find him taking his place as a member of the bar in Lan-

caster County—at the time one of the ablest in the State. He was poor, and necessity demanded exertion, and he was soon the rival and the equal of the best of his profession.

During the war with Great Britain, the English army, flushed with victory, threatened the destruction of the City of Baltimore. News of the intended attack was sent by express throughout the land. A company of volunteers was immediately enrolled in the City of Lancaster. Among that number, and the first to respond to the call, was a stripling lawyer, marching in the ranks as a common soldier—a model for all in his manly bearing and strict obedience to the command of his officers. Who is he that thus carefully casts aside his law books, and voluntarily takes upon himself the perils and privations of a soldier's life, and enrols himself among his country's defenders? That stripling lawyer is *young* James Buchanan. (Cheers.)

In 1814 the people of Lancaster County cast about them for some man in whom they had the highest confidence—some man of integrity, ability, and patriotism, for a representative in the State Legislature. Our nation was at war, and none but their best man would be selected. That choice, Mr. President, was James Buchanan. This was his first indorsement by the people of his adopted county.

In 1820, the people of that county wanted a representative on the floor of Congress. They had tried James Buchanan in the legislature of the State, and he had not disappointed their high expectations, and they sent him to a more exalted position in the councils of the nation.

In 1828 James Buchanan declined a re-election and resumed his practice at the bar, and was acknowledged to be the ablest lawyer in the State.

In 1834, the people in the State of Pennsylvania desired a representative in the Senate chamber of the United States. They had the whole State from which to choose, but from all the gifted and distinguished men within our borders, James Buchanan was selected—not through intrigue and management—but freely, voluntarily, and without solicitation on his part, he became our representative. And in the Senate chamber of the United States, in the intellectual conflicts, with not the greatest men in America only, but we can proudly say with the greatest men of the world, he proved himself their peer and their equal.

In 1844, James K. Polk had been elected President of the United States, and he cast his eyes over the nation to select the wisest and best of our glorious great men to assist him in the administration of the government of our country. He had twenty millions from whom to select, yet, Mr. President, his first choice fell upon James Buchanan for the highest position in his gift. His presence in that cabinet won the confidence of the American

people, and his safe and patriotic councils conducted the nation through the perils of a foreign war—and added thousands of miles to our national domain—and he relinquished his power amid the plaudits of a grateful people.

In 1852, the people of the United States demanded a representative at the Court of St. James. From all the great and illustrious statesmen of our glorious land, James Buchanan is selected, and the heart of the nation went with him over the sea. He is now entering a new arena. The varied duties of his new situation call for a display of untried powers. His powerful intellect must enter upon a course of discipline for the new tasks now imposed upon him. He is in daily intercourse with the greatest statesmen and diplomatists of the whole civilized world. But even there he fills the full standard of his intellectual greatness. He stands there as he stood in his native land, the greatest of the great; and the voice of all nations admits James Buchanan to be the most illustrious and distinguished minister at the most powerful Court in Europe.

At the present moment the people, not of Pennsylvania, but of the whole Union, proud of our own glorious son, are sending their voice across the expanse of waters to call the glorious statesman home, to lead the great national Democratic party in the contest of 1856, and on the 4th day of March, 1857, James Buchanan will be inaugurated President of the United States.

His whole life has been one continued discipline for the exalted and varied duties of the proud position which he is destined to fill. As a member of this hall, in early youth, he received his first lessons in the principles of State legislation and State rights. On the floor of Congress, he was taught, in intellectual conflict with the giant minds of America, the rights and duties of a representative and senator. In the Cabinet of a Democratic President he was taught how to rule a free people. And now, as our representative of his country in a foreign land, he is familiarized with the diplomacy and diplomatists of lands beyond the sea. These are the lessons by which he has been trained for the Presidency. The hand of Providence seems to have guarded and guided the course of his life for the fulfilment of this splendid destiny. The full maturity of his cultivated and powerful intellect, enriched by the experience of more than forty years spent in the service of his country, pre-eminently qualifies him as the Chief of the Nation. America has but one such man, and it gladdens the hearts of a free people to do him honor.

Mr. President, I have merely glanced at some of the incidents in the history of James Buchanan. We have seen the stripling boy, the favorite of the people of his adopted county, but they were not permitted to retain him. Pennsylvania demanded him, and he became the favorite son of our great State; but

the Nation is now demanding him from us as the chief of our mighty people. The log-cabin boy of Franklin County, in the maturity of his intellectual power, is to-day the greatest statesman of the world.

The young lawyer of the Lancaster bar has risen step by step, always advancing with a sure and steady progress—he has taken no step backward. He is first elected a member of the State Legislature, next he is found in the halls of the lower house of Congress, next in the Senate of the United States, from the Senate to the Cabinet of President Polk, from the Cabinet to the Court of St. James, and the almost united voice of a free people is now calling him to the Presidency of the United States. (Cheers.)

Earth's honors have all been or will soon be conferred upon him. He will soon be on the topmost round of human elevation, and from it he will have but one more step to take,—that step will be to the skies. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

#### SPEECH OF R. BIDDLE ROBERTS.

Mr. President! I desire to occupy the attention of the Convention by a statement, which, though not strictly in order, will, I trust, from its character, be a sufficient excuse for this interference with its regular business.

Sir! a happy omen has just occurred in our deliberations. Last night it was unanimously proclaimed in this large and respectable Convention, that James Buchanan was their choice now and forever for the Presidency of this Union; and this afternoon, ere these deliberations close, a telegraphic despatch comes from the State of New Jersey, in these words:—

“PHILADELPHIA, March 5.—Despatches have been received from the Hon. John R. Thompson, that the members of the New Jersey Legislature have unanimously recommended the Honorable James Buchanan for the Presidency.” (Deafening applause.)

Sir! I have nothing more eloquent than that despatch. I can say nothing that would move the hearts, or elevate the voice of this Convention more nobly or more gloriously, than this wheeling in of sister State after State in favor of Pennsylvania's favorite son. (Cheers.) From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Georgia to California, State after State proclaims him their choice, and that public necessity and the public welfare require the nomination of James Buchanan, and James Buchanan only. Elevated as his name has been in State and national halls, his late glorious, firm, and dignified stand in asserting and maintaining our rights abroad, will write his name in letters of fire in the hearts of the Democracy and the people of this country. (Cheers.)

## SPEECH OF GEN. WM. F. PACKER.

General Packer was loudly called for, and responded in the following eloquent speech:

Mr. President! I am little surprised that whilst we are congratulating ourselves upon the bright prospects of the Democracy from our own elevated position, that little or nothing has been said in relation to the position and prospects of the party against which our faces will be turned on the first Tuesday of next November. What, pray, is their position at this time? Where is their platform? Our platform has been announced here, and has received the unanimous sanction of this body, and will be received with acclamations of joy by the great national Democratic party from one end of this Union to the other. We go forth as a unit, with our banners streaming, and standing upon a platform, to every part of which the democracy of this country will say yea and amen. (Applause.) What, sir, is the platform of the opposition? Where is it? Why, sir, they have been in power in Pennsylvania for the last year and a half; and what is the history of that year and a half? They had the last Legislature of Pennsylvania. In the House of Representatives that assembled in this hall only one year ago, the Dark Lantern party had a majority of nearly forty. They had a Senator of the United States to elect, but they met not in Convention as the Democratic party does, with open doors, and a record of their proceedings fairly kept, and published to the world; but winding up that stairway, with their dark lantern, at the hour of midnight, secretly and covertly made their nomination. And when that nomination was made, and their decision pronounced, so grossly corrupt, according to their own testimony, was the entire proceeding, that one half of their own caucus repudiated and spit upon their own nomination, and postponed the election of United States Senator indefinitely.

What are the distinguishing principles of the party opposed to the Democracy? Sir! they unite in but one thing, and that is in opposition to the Democratic party. They not only had this legislature for the purpose of electing a United States Senator, but it became their duty to carry out the will of the people in regard to the license law, which had been directly expressed by a popular vote; the question having been submitted to them by the previous legislature for their decision, and they having decided by some thousands of a majority against prohibition. Under these circumstances, what did this party do when it came to these halls? Sir! one of its first acts was to pass a prohibitory law, and defy the will of a mighty majority of the people. I do not object so much to the passage of that law, as to the circumstances under which it was passed, and the infam-



ous manner in which they carried their legislation over the expressed will of a majority of the people of the State. It was an exhibition of that kind of disrespect for the popular will, which finds a proper channel through the representatives of the Dark Lantern party, who here, a year ago, concocted their wicked schemes.

Mr. President, this party not only had the Legislature of Pennsylvania within the last year, but that of our sister State, Massachusetts. So overwhelming was the majority in that State in favor of the Know-Nothing party, that they had a clear majority over the Democrats and Whigs combined, of 500 in the popular branch of the Legislature. And with this majority, what did they do? There is a provision of the Constitution of the United States—that Constitution which every member of the State Legislature is sworn to support, in terms something like these—“This Constitution and the laws of the United States, passed in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land.” One of three acts of Congress, passed in 1850, which was, therefore, the supreme law of the land, and which every member of the Massachusetts Legislature had sworn to support, prescribed the manner in which fugitives from labor should be delivered up to the person to whom such service or labor was due. This act the members of that Legislature, with the Bible in one hand and the Constitution in the other, which they had sworn to support, they utterly repudiated and nullified, by a solemn act of Assembly. Nay, they went further, and made it a crime in the State of Massachusetts, for any man to aid in delivering up a fugitive slave. What do you think, fellow-citizens and members of the Convention, of that party, which, in the administration of public affairs, will take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and yet will violate the plain letter of its provisions? So gross an outrage was this to the Constitution, that Governor Gardiner refused to assent to it, and yet they passed the bill by two-thirds of a majority over his head, and it stands upon the statute books of Massachusetts to-day, to the disgrace of that old and time-honored Commonwealth. What more has this party done? They have a majority in the lower House of the National Legislature,—and has ever such a scene been witnessed as that which has taken place there since that party has had the management of affairs there in its hands? Does the so-called American party plume itself upon the manner in which it conducts the American House of Representatives? Look at the proceedings that have taken place at Washington City, and say whether they do not correspond with the proceedings of the Know-Nothing Legislature here, and with the conduct of that party wherever it has been in power. What think ye of an American majority in an American House of Representatives

electing a Speaker without giving him a solitary vote south of Mason and Dixon's line? Does any man believe that the American people can long be deceived? Does any man believe that in the great contest about to come off, that the American people will place their confidence in a party that thus administers the public affairs? No, sir; the nominations that we have made in this hall will be triumphantly maintained. I can imagine that I already hear the trample of our own legions returning from victory. Sir, I consider the victory has been already gained. Yes, sir,—

“ Victory's closed in the brunt of the fight,  
And the day, like a conqueror, burst on the night;  
Trumpet and horn swelling choral along,  
The triumph already sweeps marching in song.”

SPEECH OF HON. JAMES M. PORTER, OF NORTHAMPTON.

I suppose, Mr. President, I must bow to the will of the majority. I had not intended, sir, to trouble this Convention with any remarks further than what was necessary to the transaction of our business; and I was confirmed in that position, feeling that I should appear to great disadvantage after the able speeches that I heard from other gentlemen more accustomed to speaking than myself. Young America has the country in their charge, and we old fogies must give way to them (laughter and applause), and all that we can ask of them is, that they take a little advice derived from the experience of age. Give us energy and resolution to help us, backed by the experience of age, and our march will be onward triumphantly to victory. I have but a word or two to say on this occasion, for I never like long speeches, and what I will say will be in relation to the Know-Nothing party, and the violation by that party of the laws and constitution of our country.

I perhaps had the honor, for I esteem it an honor, to be the first person to take public action in relation to their conduct. (Applause.) I held it to be my duty, when filling a judicial station, and acting under the sanction of an oath to discharge those duties faithfully, to call the attention of the Grand Jury of Wayne County, in December, 1854, to this organization, which I then held and now hold to be contrary to the laws and Constitution of the country, and a violation of those laws to a criminal extent; and I held that any member of the Association of Know-Nothings was liable to be indicted and convicted of a conspiracy in attempting to deprive a portion of our citizens of the rights guaranteed to them by the laws and Constitution of the United States. (Applause.) For this I was threatened by Sam from Dan to Beersheba; and I heard that it was their intention to have me brought before the Know-Nothing Legisla-

ture of Pennsylvania, and have me removed from office. I told them to go ahead, that I knew they did not love to hear the truth, but they should hear it there as well as in Wayne County. (Applause.)

Now, sir, one of the first amendments to the Constitution made at the very first session of Congress is this, "Congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof or abridging the right of the people."

The Constitution of Pennsylvania declares that no man shall be called to account before any human tribunal for his mode of worshipping God, but that he shall do so freely according to his conscience. I give the idea. Then, sir, we have a set of men coming together—and although the Constitution of the United States authorizes Congress and requires them to pass laws for the naturalization of foreigners—combining and conspiring together in secret for the purpose of depriving naturalized citizens of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution. There is an express infraction of the law, and had an indictment been brought before me against them, I assure you of the fact in truth, they should have been convicted. (Laughter and applause.) In that charge to the Grand Jury to which I have referred, I gave an extract of the law of conspiracy from two decisions: one made by the Chief Justice of Massachusetts, and the other by the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. These I quoted in my charge. Some fellow in Massachusetts, a Know-Nothing—and he was a Know-Nothing naturally; he need not have joined the Order to become one (laughter)—published an editorial article, and headed it "Judicial Stupidity," and then gave the extract from the charge, with the comment of "whoever heard of an overt act?"

I requested one of the editors of a Boston paper to republish the article, and head it "Editorial Stupidity," and to refer him to the decision of the Chief Justice of his own State, for what I had laid down, and there I left the matter.

Notwithstanding the Constitution contains a provision that no man shall be disturbed on account of his religious opinions, these Know-Nothings try to excite the worst spirit of religious intolerance, by arraying the Protestants against the Catholics, and depriving the latter of those rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution. This I held to be conspiracy, and I think that the good sense of the people have sustained me, as the law of the country does, in that opinion. Now, how can a party with such an object in view succeed? They may excite prejudice for the moment, but the excitement having no principle at its base, cannot last much longer. The good sense of the people has passed upon it. They have seen that it has no principle to sup-

port it recognized by sound sense, sound morals, or sound law, and it has passed away, and Know Nothingism with all its pretensions to popularity has died out. It at one time threatened, sir, to overrun the country with its detestable doctrines, and destroy all our institutions, but thank God the season of reflection among the people came, and it met its rebuff in glorious old Virginia. The election of Wise stopped the mad career of the party, and it met with nothing but defeat after defeat, from that time to this. The recent election in Pennsylvania redeemed this State, and we now behold the halls of our Legislature filled by men who sustain Democratic measures and Democratic principles, instead of the reckless band that congregated there last year. The men who composed our last Legislature seemed bound by no obligation or moral sense. They would swear, as was eloquently said by the gentleman from Lycoming (Mr. Packer), to support the Constitution in one breath, and then present laws and enact them, to violate it the next. Thank God that day has gone by, like the anti-Masonic excitement which once existed here, and passed away, and now its originators, if they have any shame in them, are ashamed. Sir, I have no patience with such a band of conspirators. They are emphatically the Dark Lantern party, and have, as they deserved, lost everything like public confidence. The day of their triumph has gone by, and they are fast sinking into that infamy which they so richly deserve.

Mr. President! No party can ever exist here that is not a party founded upon principle. No party ever existed in this Union for any length of time, that had for its object the destruction of the Constitution and the laws. I, sir, have faith in the intelligence of the people. They may be led away for a time by impulse, but soon reflection comes, sound morals return, and delusion passes away. I have an abiding sense, not only in the right, but the ability of the people to govern themselves; and excitements coming in once and awhile do good, and give time for sober second thought, which is always right, and always rectifies the wrong the people have been led into by impulse. As a party, we have based our proceedings upon the sovereignty of the people, their right to govern themselves, and their capacity so to do. We bow to them, to their expressed and deliberate will, at all times, and we are perfectly safe in so doing. It never can be that any other party, without principles, can ever have any permanent hold upon the people. The Democratic party is the national party, the party of the people, the only party that can safely be trusted by them with power. (Applause.) Our principle is their polar star, and it is only when they pass from it, like the Israelites of old, and go hunting after false Gods, that they are defeated. Sir, while they keep the polar star

in view, and steer by it, they are always safe. Look at our opponents, where are they? Kept together only by the cohesive power of a love for plunder, for the loaves and fishes; and when they get into power, and get into the money-chest, they are so confounded greedy that they thrust both arms into the chest, and the people turn them off like robbers. No such judgment has ever been passed upon the Democratic party. They are used to power—and it is no grab game with them. But with our adversaries; look back, and see if the people, either in the government of the United States, or that of Pennsylvania, have twice successively trusted our opponents with power. There is no such instance on record; and the reason is, that they are not fit to be trusted with it. (Applause.) Democratic members of either the National or State Legislature, recognize the right of their constituents to govern them by instructions—they are there to carry out the will of the people; but how is it with their opponents? Why, sir, during the excitement which took place a year ago, they elected a large number of Black Republican Know-Nothing members of Congress; and what is the consequence? A revolution in the public sentiment has been brought about by their outrageous conduct, as shown by the recent elections; and I do not suppose that one of them could again carry his district. Spoils are what this party fights for; and its representatives in office say we have got the power, and we will exercise it to reward our followers. Now, sir, this is carrying out the principles of our government with a vengeance; but thank God, the balance-wheel of the Senate is left; and the country is safe from the mad actions of such an unprincipled party.

Mr. President, I have said a word about Know-Nothingism, and now I will pay my respects to the Black Republicans. (Laughter and applause.) The Constitution of the United States contains this provision:

“No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another,” &c.

Now, sir, that is one of the earliest provisions of the Constitution, and it is just as formal as any other provision of the Constitution. Shortly after that Constitution was adopted, an act in relation to fugitive slaves was passed, which authorizes the officers of the State Government to execute that law. Some states as soon as an agitation was got up by abolitionists, passed laws prohibiting their officers from executing this law which they had a right to do—and I am sorry to say, that such a statute is upon the record in good old honest Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania exercising a power which she legitimately might, abolished slavery by a gradual process, and for years that law was the only one upon the subject; but within the last twelve years since there has been a law passed, prohibiting the officers of Pennsylvania

from executing the law of the United States to which I have alluded, and it stands upon our statute books now, and I hope that some of the Senators of our State who hear me, will see to having a law passed repealing it. It is a law that is merely within the words of the Constitution, but violates its spirit, and I hope that they will blot it from our statute book; that they will pass a law repealing it, and let it go to the Governor, and see whether he dare veto it. That law shall be repealed. In the year 1850, the House of Representatives of this State passed a law repealing a part of it, and it went to the Senate, and there our opponents had a majority, and it died a natural death. I have no doubt that if our representatives attempted to repeal it now, that our opponents would try to kill it in some way for the sake of the factions which they represent, but, sir, they should be shown that they might try in vain before the close of the session. (Applause.) Well, Mr. President, in consequence of laws similar to the one passed in Pennsylvania, being passed by the various States, Congress found it necessary to constitute officers of the United States to perform this duty; and then commenced the clamor against the fugitive slave law, which was nothing else than the original law so modified as to avoid these obstructions.

The Constitution was a matter of compromise. In it the various States gave up to each other certain rights essential to them, so modified as to allow them to come together and form a Union of States. The compromises of that Constitution must be faithfully preserved, in order to preserve this Union in its integrity; and every part of that Constitution is binding upon the whole Union, every State of it and every person in it, and nothing can be enacted in violation of it. We have assembled here to-day for the purpose of doing our part to preserve the Union in its integrity, and we have made our nomination with that view, and it is one that will meet the approbation of the Democrats of the whole Commonwealth, and I hope it will meet with that of the whole Union, for I believe the gentleman nominated is a perfectly safe statesman, who will preserve that Constitution in its letter and spirit; and if he is elected, the Union is safe and the efforts of men who are trying to create dissension and disunion will be defeated.

Now, sir, I have very little further to say. I have not mixed in political life or the politics of my State, lately. I believe I was a member of a Democratic Convention some twenty-three years ago, when John Shultz was nominated for Governor. From that time to this the Democracy have been true to the Constitution, have been mainly true to their principles and true to the people, and my word for it, if the nomination made here this day is ratified throughout the Union, when you come to the Tenth Legion, we will roll up a majority of six thousand for Buchanan. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF A. B. M'CALLMONT, OF ALLEGHANY.

Mr. A. B. McCallmont next addressed the Convention. He said:

Mr. President, I am not aware that I rise for any definite purpose, and when a man attempts to make a speech or do anything else in that spirit, he never arrives at any definite end. Allow me to express the rapture that I feel, and that every Democrat must feel, on beholding the Democracy of the great State of Pennsylvania thus presenting one solid, united and unbroken front to the enemy. We have to meet the enemy, sir, and who are they? Why, sir, the Lord knows in the present complexion of parties, who and what they are. We have to meet everything. They keep narrowing down platforms and principles, striking out this or that as one by one their old broken principles fall from under them, until at last religious bigotry and opposition to foreigners are the only two narrow pieces of scaffolding that they have left. (Applause.) And now, sir, they have gone on still narrowing down, until I do not know really what they believe. Why, our opponents, I do not know what to call them, whether Know-Nothings, Black Republicans, or what, they pretend to have no hostility to Catholics, because they admit Catholics as members of their Convention. They also pretend that they have no particular hostility to foreigners, which is all pretension; but there is one point which they will not narrow down, and on which their grand rally will be made next fall, and it is that of no more slave States. For the life of me, I cannot see a solitary element upon which the opposition will unite, except that one single principle of no more slave States. And will it do to stand upon that principle? If it will do now, why would it not do in the days of the Revolution? Why does this thought come now? Why did it not occur long ago, when George Washington was fighting the battles of his country? Why was not the doctrine of no more slave States then started; and then when peace was declared and when victory had crowned our efforts, when our fathers had triumphed and America was enrolled amidst the free and independent nations of the earth, and each State, in its sovereign capacity, sent delegates to form a common Constitution for them, why did it not then occur to the wisdom of the men assembled there to put into the Constitution a clause that there should be no more slave States? (Applause.) Why was it not good there then if it is good now? If reason and common sense sanction it now, why did not reason and common sense sanction it then? (Applause.) Did they place any such clause as that in the Constitution of the United States? Is there one solitary word there that looks like denying the right of any of the slave States to come into this Confederacy? How

easy it would have been to have said it; but, instead of that, they only say that new States may be admitted into the Confederacy, without one word about the conditions, except that the government of the United States shall guarantee to every State a Republican form of government. And what was a Republican form of government? Why, of course, a government such as the States then possessed; because it would have been absurd to have said that South Carolina had not a Republican form of government at that time, and that it should be guaranteed to every State. The question as it was settled at that time, I think, admits the parties who think slavery might or might not be a part of the Constitution of any new State, just as much as any other local matter, and that without regard to the power of the people of the United States. It was left to the people of the State, and they have a proper right to decide it. Well, sir, will that doctrine of no more slave States do? Is it honest? Is it fair? Can we not meet it, and that triumphantly? I say it is unjust—it is absurd. The time to have settled that question was long ago. Having formed the Constitution, and having prescribed in that Constitution the terms under which new States may be admitted, it does not do now to say that we will dictate terms. Supposing that Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and the other States should pass the Maine law, for example, would they not have the same right to say when any new State applies for admission, that it shall not come in without it incorporates in its Constitution the Maine law provision. If you say that Congress has the right to reject any State on account of its domestic institutions, why has it not the right to refuse admission to a State on the ground that its Constitution does not contain the Maine Liquor Law proviso, as that it permits the institution of slavery? Congress has just as clearly the right. Step beyond the bounds of the Constitution in one respect, and you are at sea forever.

Mr. President, I will now refer to the candidate. I am a Buchanan man. I used to be a Buchanan boy; and when I was very young, I recollect reading a speech of Mr. Buchanan's which impressed my imagination and captivated me. It was his speech against surrendering Mr. McLeod to the British government. We have almost forgotten it, he has done so many good and noble things since; but let us go back to that time, and to the firm and manly ground that Mr. Buchanan took when Daniel Webster even had decided against the position that Mr. Buchanan assumed in the face of the British government, and in the face of the great Daniel himself. Mr. Buchanan declared that Mr. McLeod should not be given up, and he was not given up. From that time down to the present, I have felt unwavering fidelity towards Mr. Buchanan, so much so, that at the time Mr. Pierce was nominated I did not like it. Mr. Pierce has made a very



good President. I have not a word to say against him, but I was disappointed. I was up at Detroit at the time Mr. Pierce was nominated, and before the news reached there I came down. When I left, a great many Michigan gentlemen were talking about Buchanan, and saying that his nomination would insure his election. Mr. B. had then received the highest vote, and I started for home, thinking that Buchanan was to be the next President, and feeling very well about it. I landed from the steamboat at the wharf, and went down to my boarding-house, which was kept by a good old lady who did not know much about politics, and the first question I asked her was, "How did the Convention go?" "Well, they have nominated some person," she replied. "Who is it? Mr. Buchanan?" "No." "Mr. Cass?" "No." "Marcy?" "No. All I recollect about it," she said, "is that it is some man from some State?"

Now, Mr. President, I desire to make no reflections on the present Chief Magistrate; the poor woman's ignorance does not amount to anything; but, sir, I wish to say that when the next nomination is made for President I want every woman in the country to know who it is. (Great applause.)

#### SPEECH OF GEORGE W. BREWER.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention! I do not know that I can say anything to add to the proceedings that would brighten the prospects that now smile over the party; or, that would inspire in the bosoms of that party more devotion to the principles heretofore advocated by them; or around which they now cluster, with the resolution to bear them aloft in triumph as in days gone by, or to fall proudly with them on the field of battle!

Sir! Pennsylvania, before to-day, has been the great battlefield, upon which the battle of the Constitution of the country has been fought. She has been the ground upon which that Constitution has been vindicated, and upon which its purity and its wisdom have been proclaimed and maintained by her Democracy. In the approaching canvass, it is not, Mr. Chairman, simply a contest of minor principles, or measures, but that great palladium of the country, the great ark of the Union has been assailed, and it becomes the proud duty of the Democracy of Pennsylvania once more to rally around it, and preserve it from the hands of the assailant, and the dagger of the assassin! (Applause.)

No man can have witnessed the deliberations of this body without pleasure and without pride; no one can have marked the spirit that has animated its members, or the results that have crowned their deliberations, without feelings of exultation. But, sir, that sentiment of gratification broadens, expands, and

swells into a far nobler emotion, when he looks over Pennsylvania, the great Keystone of the Federal Arch, and reflects, that we, after all, a mere handful of men, fully represent the masses of Pennsylvania in the advocacy of Mr. Buchanan and his measures.

I have been glad, sir, that it has been my pleasure to listen to the despatch that has been read from New Jersey. It is, indeed, gratifying to see States of this Union wheel into line. Sir, the battle to be fought next fall, is not the battle of Pennsylvania, it is the battle of the Union; and the people of the Union will form the army with Mr. Buchanan to lead them to victory, and, after victory is achieved, with statesmanship, to guide the counsels of the Nation, will be triumphant for the welfare of this country, and triumphant for free institutions the world over. (Applause.)

The Know-Nothing has been called the Dark Lantern Party; but, I think, this term is no longer appropriate. They are no longer the Dark Lantern party. Their lamp has been extinguished, and their lantern is broken.

“Their numbers have fled,  
Their lanterns are dead,  
And all but Sambo departed.”

No, sir, we have nothing to fear from that party. The great principles brought here from the old world by our forefathers, who were driven by tyranny to a waste and inhospitable shore, but who turned that waste into an Eden of joy and loveliness our forefathers, driven here by tyranny and intolerance, bleeding with many stripes, have planted those stripes in glory upon our starry flag, and have turned the dungeon, to which they were banished, into a temple where religion can find a common shrine, and oppression the safety of a common asylum. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, while we are cheered by the prospects for our party, which are as bright as the sun which now illuminates the heavens, we should not forget that we have a high and important duty to discharge to ourselves and our posterity. In our keeping, sir, is that integrity—the most priceless inheritance ever bequeathed to any people in the world; and it depends upon the union, harmony; and vigor with which the Democracy of Pennsylvania shall move in solid column in the coming campaign, whether we will transmit this heritage to our posterity—its glory unsullied and its honor unblotted. Let us be united, then. Feeling the importance of this contest, let us be animated by patriotism worthy of Pennsylvanians, worthy of the Union, and worthy of the man who is to lead our troops to victory. It becomes now, the duty of Pennsylvania, through her people and

through the delegates that have been selected to represent her at Cincinnati, to use all means, to exert every energy of the body and faculty of the mind, to secure the nomination of Mr. Buchanan—him, who, in days gone by, has been the tower of strength—him whose genius has thrown around his country the halo of its brightest glory—him whose history is the triumphs of the country—whose integrity, whose elevated purpose, whose unswerving patriotism is extensive with the interests of this great, mighty and growing republic. (Great applause.) Let him be placed at the head of the Democratic army—let him be made the bearer of that glorious standard that has been carried triumphantly by the Democracy through so many dark days; let him whose plume has always waved in the thickest of the battle, and whose voice has cheered when the hour was darkest—let him be our leader, and it needs no prophet to predict that Pennsylvania, from her green valleys, from her lofty mountains, from her hills and her dales, will roll up a majority equal to those that she rolled up in the days of the immortal and illustrious Jackson. (Cheers.)

And, speaking of that man, that illustrious patriot whose memory is enshrined in the heart of every American, I cannot but remark that I was struck by a notice which I saw in a Berks County paper some time ago, announcing the nominations of the party that met at Philadelphia, I do not know its name—Republican, Free Soil or Know Nothing, it had “Andrew Jackson” in capital letters, and “Donelson” in small type, with a small “d”—very appropriate and significant.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. We shall not meet again in this hall before the election takes place; but I hope to meet every delegate, and not only to meet him, but the great people of this great State, at the ballot-box, where one man is as good as another, and a good deal better. (Laughter.) Let us meet there, and vindicate then our principles and support our candidate, and victory will be ours. (Great applause.)

#### SPEECH OF HON. WILLIAM H. WELSH, OF YORK.

Mr. President:—I did not come here for the purpose of making a speech, but simply to participate in the deliberations of the Convention as an humble member. I came here, sir, simply to gather with the Democracy of Pennsylvania around their annual council fires—I came here to perform with them a solemn lustration at the pure and limpid fountain of Democracy—I came here to look with them upon our old battle flag, that has been so often crowned with the laurel wreaths of victory, and to pledge with them my constant and unalterable devotion to its bright stars and its red stripes, which have never yet been given to the breeze,

that they did not blend and mingle in harmony and beauty with the glorious stripes and stars imprinted upon the consecrated ensign of our common country. Perhaps, Mr. President, I have some little right to speak here to-day, when the name of James Buchanan is mentioned. I had the honor to be associated with him for two years, during his mission in London—an honor that any man might well be proud of—and, sir, in all my intercourse with him, wherever the place, or whatever the occasion, whether in London, in the Court, or with the people, I can say to this Convention, and can say to the people of Pennsylvania, as I hope to have the pleasure of doing in many places between this and the next election, that he was in every instance, wherever he went, under all circumstances, thoroughly and entirely an American citizen. (Applause.) I can say this, that the British Court never received a bolder rebuke than when, amid their blazonry and trappings, their gewgaws and gold lace, James Buchanan walked proudly erect in the plain and simple dress of an American gentleman. (Applause.)

We have met here to-day for a double purpose—for the purpose of selecting candidates for a State ticket to be supported in the approaching contest, and also for the purpose of ascertaining the choice of Pennsylvania for the next Presidency, and presenting a Democrat to our party in our sister States, and asking that we shall no longer be hewers of wood and drawers of water, but that the long-neglected claims of Pennsylvania shall now be recognized in the National Convention. (Applause.) I never in my life felt more interest in any approaching campaign than the one now opening before us. I believe honestly, that upon the success and permanency of the Democracy of this Union, depends in a great measure, the permanency of our republican institutions. The Democratic party has always been the party of the people. Every cardinal principle of its faith aims most strikingly at an enlargement of the popular rights. We have always contended for an extension of the elective franchise; battled for the destruction of monopoly; taught everywhere that the people are the safest depositaries of political power; struggled for the reform of abuse; taught that the poor man is on the same equality with the rich man, that his priceless inheritance freedom is the same, and that the hewer of wood and drawer of water has as much right to be considered in the fashioning of municipal regulations, as those whose good fortunes have placed them beyond the pale of labor. And we have also taught, and have always taught it with pride and pleasure, that it matters not where a man first drew the breath of life, nor under what sun he may have first seen the light of heaven, if he fulfils all our constitutional requirements, he can make a good citizen; that a man's religion is a matter between himself and his God;

that in this free and happy country, the rainbow, and not the cloud, surrounds the blessed cross of our Redeemer—and that Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, he shall not be persecuted on account of a faith made dear to him by the memory of his fathers, and hallowed by all the sacred recollections of the past. (Applause.)

Mr. President—I have nothing more to say. I thank this Convention for the honor done me in permitting me to address it. I to-day enlist in this Democratic army. I will go forth whenever I am needed in this Commonwealth, from the Delaware to the Alleghanies, rendering any service that I may be able to do, not only to secure the success of James Buchanan, but the success of the Democratic party of this Union (Applause); and if we all do our duty, and go to work manfully, after the next Presidential election, the Democratic standard will be floating gloriously and triumphantly, over the millions of freemen now scattered from the icy waters of Maine, to the golden sands of the Sacramento. (Great applause.)

MEMOIR  
OF  
JAMES BUCHANAN, OF PENNSYLVANIA.\*

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THE reputation of our public men constitutes an important element in the history of our country. It cannot be too far above reproach. The example of an upright statesman during his lifetime, is a source of pride and power to his countrymen, and a consoling and purifying remembrance after he has been gathered to his fathers. In James Buchanan we find a character without suspicion or stain. During forty years of active and almost constant service in high political positions, he has maintained the same tranquil deportment, the same scrupulous regard for the truth, the same dignified avoidance of corrupt compliances and combinations. The posterity of the friends among whom he spent his youth, are living around him; and the prophecies of those, who saw the promise of his early years, are recalled by their descendants, who rejoice in the maturity of his intellect, the sagacity of his statesmanship, and the long list of his public and private virtues, as the abundant fulfilment of the predictions of their fathers. Personal malignity has never yet inflicted dishonor upon his good name. Slander, exhaustless in its resources, and unsleeping in its vengeance, has failed in every attempt against him.

Men contemplate Mr. Buchanan, at this day, not as one whom envy and wrong have persecuted, but as a great public character, who has passed through the fiery furnace without the smell of smoke upon his garments, and who stands out ready to submit to the test of any scrutiny into his conduct as a citizen and a statesman. The day has come which is to prove that such talents as his, such experience, such integrity, such fixed

\* Adopted and published by order of the Democratic State Central Committee of Pennsylvania.

habits of wise forecast, are essential to the great destiny for which he seems to have been reserved by his countrymen, who always demand the highest qualities of statesmanship in the highest position in their gift. Where, indeed, is there to be found a living public man, who presents so exemplary and so consistent a record, running through so many years? Even among those who have departed the scene of human action, there were few who could point to a more unbroken series of services in defence of great principles. If we look down the gallery of the long gone past, and take up the portraits of the great actors of other days, how comparatively few there are who exhibited in their lives and in their works a more conscientious and high-souled devotion to the doctrines of the Federal Constitution and to the rights of the States of the American Union! The course of Mr. Buchanan has been neither erratic nor irregular; it has harmonized with the purest examples of the past and the present, and with all those saving doctrines which he has devotedly practised and defended; and whether in the House or in the Senate of the American Congress, whether immersed in foreign relations, whether at the head of the most important department of the government under the memorable administration of Polk, or whether reposing in the calm seclusion of his own home, his well-balanced intellect and his patriotic devotion to the Union, have always been displayed at the right moment, and with the most striking effect. Progressive, not in the spirit of lawlessness, but in harmony with the steady advance of our institutions on this continent, and our example among the nations of the earth; conservative, not in veneration for antiquated abuses, but in sacred regard for rights which cannot be violated without destroying the fundamental law; he fails in no single element of public usefulness, political orthodoxy, or personal character. Such is the impression made upon those who study the history, public and private, of James Buchanan; such the conclusive answer which the open and spotless volume of his career makes to all who have conceived it necessary to attack his eminent deservings and his lofty capacities.

Mr. Buchanan is in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and in the vigor of health, intellectually and physically. He was born in

the County of Franklin, in the State of Pennsylvania, of honest and industrious parents, and may truly be called the architect of his own fortunes. Having received a good education, he studied the profession of the law, in the County of Lancaster, in the same State, which has ever since been his home. In 1814 and 1815 he was elected to the State Legislature, where he distinguished himself by those exhibitions of intellect which gave promise of future eminence. In his profession during many succeeding years, he rose to the highest class of legal minds, and at a period when Pennsylvania could boast of her Baldwins, her Gibsons, her Rosses, her Duncans, her Breckenridges, her Tilghmans, her Hopkinsons, her Jenkinsons, her Dallases, and her Semples, he was prepared for the struggles of the future, and soon became conspicuous among those who had but few equals in their own times, and whose fame is still cherished among our most agreeable recollections.

At this day, after more than half a century's intercourse as man and boy with the people of his own immediate district, and with the people of Pennsylvania; after having figured prominently in the conflicts of parties; after having shared the confidence of successive Democratic administrations; after having contributed his energies to the overthrow of political heresies without number, he might leave his case to thousands and tens of thousands, who have at various times antagonized his opinions, but now, with the annals of his life before them, stand ready to pay their tribute to his consistency and to his integrity as a public man, by uniting with his political friends in placing him in the Presidential chair! What nobler monument could be raised in commemoration of any American patriot? What more significant refutation of all the accusations of heated party combatants? What more conclusive proof could be given to the nation at large of the fitness and the merits of a statesman who, after such a lifetime, finds his indorsers in the hearts of the people among whom he has always lived, and his warmest supporters among men who have for more than forty years stood in opposition to his opinions?

It is said that the grave covers all, that malignity halts at the portals of the tomb, and that from its peaceful bosom spring flowers of reconciliation and forgetfulness of all evil passions.



Those who now mourn over the humble yet immortal grave of Jackson rarely think of the calumnies which pursued him like so many unsleeping furies during his lifetime. In the universal homage paid to his memory, which rises forever like incense to the skies, how seldom we recall the bitter epithets with which he was attacked during his illustrious career! And yet that he *was* attacked, and that he *was* persecuted almost beyond parallel, is so. But he outlived detraction, and long before he passed to his final account, most of his enemies were translated into friends. We may say of James Buchanan, that, although still in the strength of public usefulness, he too has outlived detraction, and that the echoes of slander which sound up from the deep oblivion to which the accusations upon his character have been consigned, fall faintly upon the ear of the present generation. In the long catalogue of his public services and private virtues, we lose sight of the false charge of the personal foe, in the luminous and splendid aggregate of the patriotic character which he would impugn!

In 1820, James Buchanan was elected to the House of Representatives, and retained his position in that body for ten years, voluntarily retiring after the first Congress under the administration of Andrew Jackson. He was the warm and ardent defender of the administration of Mr. Monroe, the active opponent of the administration of John Quincy Adams, and the consistent and trusted friend of Andrew Jackson. The proceedings show that while he retained a seat in the popular branch of Congress, he took a prominent part in all the debates upon great public questions. As early as 1815, he entertained opinions hostile to the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States, and in the fierce struggles which ensued upon the election of the hero of New Orleans, he was a distinguished champion of the Democratic party.

Probably the most interesting part of Mr. Buchanan's history, was his early and effective support of General Jackson for the Presidency. He was one of the first advocates of the hero of New Orleans. More than thirty years ago, as a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, he was recognized as among the most active and devoted friends of Jackson. Distinguished for his eloquence and his judgment, even in that

period of his life, he contributed greatly to produce the state of feeling which afterwards put General Jackson forward as the Democratic candidate,—Pennsylvania taking the lead. Before the House of Representatives of the United States proceeded to elect a President (the people having failed, in 1824, to make a choice), Mr. Buchanan opposed, with indignant eloquence, the motion to sit with closed doors while that duty was being discharged by the representatives of the American people. He said (February 2, 1825):

“He protested against going into a secret conclave, when the House should decide this all-important question.

“What are the consequences,” said Mr. B., “which will result from closing the doors of the galleries? We should impart to the election an air of mystery. We should give exercise to the imaginations of the multitude, in conjecturing what scenes are enacted within this hall. Busy rumor, with her hundred tongues, will circulate reports of wicked combinations and corruptions, which have no existence. Let the people see what we are doing. Let them know that it is neither more nor less than putting our ballots into the boxes, and they will soon become satisfied with the spectacle and retire.”

When the memorable struggle of 1828 came on, Mr. Buchanan was prominent in the contest. Indeed, he was so conspicuous that the opponents of Jackson bestowed a full share of the bitterness reserved for the old hero upon his efficient and faithful friend. Mr. Buchanan came into the House of Representatives for the last time in 1829. It was during this session that he displayed those eminent qualities which proved him to be one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the country; and in a body of which such statesmen as McDuffie, Wickliffe, and others, were members, Mr. Buchanan was selected as Chairman of the Committee of the Judiciary, a duty for which he had been well prepared in the debates which had taken place in former sessions, between Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Lowndes, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Buchanan himself, and others equally eminent. When the celebrated case of Judge Peck, of Missouri, came up before the House, Mr. Buchanan was the leading spirit in conducting the impeachment of that functionary. The House of Representatives, having heard the able arguments on both sides, decided to present to

the Senate articles of impeachment against Judge Peck, and they elected by ballot (May 30, 1830), five managers to conduct the impeachment on the part of the House. They were, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Henry R. Storrs, of New York, George McDuffie, of South Carolina, Ambrose Spencer, of New York, and Charles Wickliffe, of Kentucky. The display before the Senate on that celebrated trial, forms a most instructive page in history. Messrs. Wm. Wirt and Jonathan Meredith, appeared for Judge Peck, and on the part of the managers, Mr. Buchanan closed the argument in a speech of great length and profound ability and research. It is still quoted as one of the most masterly expositions of constitutional law on the public records.

After retiring from Congress in 1831, he received from General Jackson, unsolicited, the tender of the mission to Russia. He accepted that mission. How he discharged its grave duties, the archives of the legation and of the State Department, will show. Among other acts, he rendered the country important and valuable service, by negotiating the first commercial treaty between the United States and Russia, which secured to our commerce the ports of the Baltic and Black Sea, and insured to us a valuable and continually increasing trade. What reputation he left behind him, those who succeeded him are willing to attest. The chaste and manly tribute to his splendid abilities, at St. Petersburg, paid during the proceedings of the Convention, which assembled on the 4th of March, 1856, by his immediate successor in the American legation at that court, the Hon. William Wilkins, shows something of the habits and capacities of Mr. Buchanan.

Shortly after Mr. Buchanan's return from the Russian mission, the Democrats in the Legislature of Pennsylvania made him their candidate for the United States Senate, and elected him. He remained in the Senate from the 6th of December, 1834, until his resignation, March 3, 1845, having been twice re-elected during that period of time. It is not necessary to recapitulate the distinguished services rendered by our great statesman, in the highest legislative body on earth, so well and so widely are they remembered. In the debate on the admission of Arkansas and Michigan; in his opposition to the designs of the abolitionists; in his resistance and exposure of the

schemes of the Bank of the United States, after it had been transferred to Pennsylvania, as a vast political moneyed monopoly; in his opposition to a profuse expenditure of the public revenue, for the creation of an unnecessary public debt; a government bank of discount, circulation, and deposit, under the British name of Exchequer; a substitution of paper money for the constitutional currency of silver and gold; the surrender of M'Leod upon the insulting demand of England; the unjust distribution of the public revenue, to the States of this Confederation; in his courageous hostility to special legislation, no matter how concealed; he co-operated with Wright, Woodbury, Benton, King, Linn, and other leading Democrats of that day. As chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, during a series of years, in the Senate of the United States, he sustained the honor of the nation, by his unanswerable demonstration of the right of each State to punish a foreign murderer, who, in time of peace, kills an American citizen upon its own soil. His masterly expositions of our unquestionable title to the Northeast boundary line, were upheld by the decisions of Congress, and he won high honor for his opposition to a treaty which gave a large portion of the American territory to a foreign government. He was the advocate of a liberal and enlightened policy in regard to the public lands. During the memorable extra session of one hundred days, when the opponents of the Democracy, in the Senate of the United States, had resolved to push through a series of high federal measures, beginning with the Bank of the United States, and ending with the bankrupt law, Mr. Buchanan was constantly in his seat, and was frequently put forward as the leader of his party, in certain trying emergencies. An early and a fervent advocate of the annexation of Texas, he signalized his career in that body by giving his views on that important question to his countrymen, in a speech of unsurpassed ability and power.

It is hardly necessary to go over Mr. Buchanan's record, to show how true he has been on all those great questions involving the rights of the States and the rights of the citizens of the States. On those delicate questions which tried so many Northern men, and which lost to the Democratic party of the country some of its most prominent leaders, who would not follow the doctrine of state

rights to its just and logical conclusion, Mr. Buchanan was found unwavering and decided. In the exciting debate during the Congress of 1836, on the subject of circulating incendiary documents through the mails of the United States, Mr. Buchanan spoke repeatedly in support of the Message of Mr. Van Buren, demanding the interference of the National Legislature to prevent the dissemination of appeals among the slaves of the South to rise in servile insurrection against the people of that quarter of the country; and on the question of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, Mr. Buchanan used the following emphatic language:

“What is now asked by these memorialists? That in this District of ten miles square—a District carved out of two slaveholding States, and surrounded by them on all sides, slavery shall be abolished! What would be the effects of granting their request? You would thus erect a citadel in the very hearts of these States, upon a territory which they have ceded to you for a far different purpose, from which abolitionists and incendiaries could securely attack the peace and safety of their citizens. You establish a spot within the slaveholding States which would be a city of refuge for runaway slaves. You create by law a central point from which trains of gunpowder may be securely laid, extending into the surrounding States, which may at any moment produce a fearful and destructive explosion. By passing such a law, you introduce the enemy into the very bosom of these two States, and afford him every opportunity to produce a servile insurrection. Is there any reasonable man who can for one moment suppose that Virginia and Maryland would have ceded the District of Columbia to the United States, if they had entertained the slightest idea that Congress would ever use it for any such purpose? They ceded it for your use, for your convenience, and not for their own destruction. When slavery ceases to exist under the laws of Virginia and Maryland, then, and not till then, ought it to be abolished in the District of Columbia.”

When, at the same session of Congress, the two bills were reported, admitting the territories of Michigan and Arkansas as States into the American Union, Mr. Buchanan was selected as the Northern Senator who should present the bill admitting Arkansas, and advocate it before the Senate, which he did with

signal ability, and Mr. Benton was chosen as the Southern Senator who was to present and advocate the bill admitting Michigan into the Union. During the exciting debates on these issues, Mr. Buchanan spoke repeatedly. He took the broad ground that the people of the territory, having formed a Republican Constitution, after the model of the other States, could be and should be admitted into the Union irrespective of slavery, and that Congress could not and should not interfere to prevent their admission for any such reason as is now urged against the admission of Kansas. It was during the debate on the admission of Michigan that he used these memorable words, on the first of April, 1836, in his place as a Senator from Pennsylvania :

*"The older I grow, the more I am inclined to be what is called 'a state rights man.'* The peace and security of this Union depend upon giving to the Constitution a literal and fair construction, such as would be placed upon it by a plain, intelligent man, and not by ingenious constructions, to increase the powers of this government, and thereby diminish those of the States. The rights of the States, reserved to them by that instrument, ought ever to be held sacred. If, then, the Constitution leaves to them to decide according to their own discretion, unrestricted and unlimited, who shall be electors, it follows as a necessary consequence that they may, if they think proper, confer upon resident aliens the right of voting," &c. &c.

And at the same time, in the very same speech from which the above is copied, he made the following eloquent allusion to the adopted citizens :

"The territory ceded by Virginia to the United States, was sufficiently extensive for an immense empire. The parties to this compact of cession contemplated that it would form five sovereign States of this Union. At that early period, we had just emerged from our revolutionary struggle, and none of the jealousy was then felt against foreigners, and particularly against Irish foreigners, which now appears to haunt some gentlemen. There had then been no attempts made to get up a Native American party in this country. The blood of the gallant Irish had flowed freely upon every battle-field, in defence of the liberties which we now enjoy. Besides, the Senate will well recollect that the ordinance was passed before the adoption of our present Consti-

tution, and whilst the power of naturalization remained with the several States. In some, and perhaps, in all of them, it required so short a residence, and so little trouble to be changed from an alien to a citizen, that the process could be performed without the least difficulty. I repeat that no jealousy whatever then existed against foreigners."

After the splendid campaign of 1844, which resulted in the election of Mr. Polk, to which result Pennsylvania, led by James Buchanan, contributed her electoral vote, the President elect, casting his eye over the long roll of Democratic statesmen then living, weighing the claims and the qualifications of each and all, profoundly sensible of the exciting questions which must come up for adjustment during his administration, and after consulting the venerable sage then in the sunset of life in the shades of the Hermitage, invited Mr. Buchanan to accept the portfolio of the State department, the head of his cabinet; and in 1845, Mr. Buchanan resigned his seat in the Senate (to which he had only lately been re-elected), and became Secretary of State, under President Polk. Nor is it necessary that we should recapitulate his services in that department. They are fresh and familiar in all minds. His argument in favor of the clear and unquestionable title of the American people, to all Oregon, won for him the applause of the whole liberal world, and was published in several languages in Europe. The State papers, on other great questions, proceeding from his pen during the four years he remained in the department of State, were so many contributions to the column which celebrates his eminent fitness, and his unsullied integrity. When the Wilmot Proviso was introduced into Congress, it was James Buchanan who at once denounced, and exposed, and rallied the democracy against it.

It was during the administration of Mr. Polk, that Mr. Buchanan, in his letter to the Democracy of Berks County, Pennsylvania, first recommended to the North and the South, that the Missouri line should be extended to the Pacific, and that this should be made the basis of a final settlement of the slavery question in the territories. The war with Mexico, consequent on the annexation of Texas, gave us a vast empire in addition to the area which constitutes our beloved Union, and in the arguments growing out of the acquisition of California, Mr. Buchanan labored earnestly and effec-

tively on the side of progress. Mr. Buchanan's letter on this subject is of record, and speaks for itself. It is easy to recall the vituperation which his proposition to extend the Missouri line called forth from the fanatics of the North, from those who now clamor for its restoration, and who in insane forgetfulness of their hostility to it a few years ago, set themselves up as its peculiar champions.

Mr. Buchanan's recommendation of an *extension* of the Missouri line was far in advance of public sentiment. It was hailed in the South by all parties as an exhibition of firmness only too rare in those days among Northern men, and it was appreciated by the truly national men of the free States. Would it not be strangely unjust, if this proposal of Mr. Buchanan should now be cited to prove him unsound upon existing issues? The spirit which actuated Mr. Buchanan in 1847, when he wrote his letter recommending the extension of the Missouri line, was to promote harmony among the States of this Union, by recognizing the principle of equality among the States, in regard to the common territories of the people; and now, when the Missouri line has been superseded by another plan of settlement, the Nebraska-Kansas Act, based upon the same sentiment of State equality, all patriotic men will cheerfully abide by and vigilantly maintain it against the inroads of that abolition fusion which once more threatens to assail the constitutional rights of the South. The country will find, among its public men, no truer or firmer advocate and defender of that great principle of popular sovereignty, as embodied in the Nebraska bill, than James Buchanan.

Mr. Buchanan remained in connection with Mr. Polk's administration until March 4th, 1849, when he once more returned to Pennsylvania, and from that period up to the election of the present enlightened Chief Magistrate, he engaged himself in pursuits congenial to a statesman of large and extended experience. The conflict between the enemies of the Constitution and the Democracy, did not find him an idle spectator. He was in the fore front of the Democratic party, demanding for the South no hollow and hypocritical platform, but a broad, radical, distinct recognition of those rights, which cannot be equal, unless they are shared honestly and fairly between the people of all the sections of the Union. Everywhere, the Demo-



cracy of his State felt and followed his wise and patriotic counsels. Whenever he emerged from his quiet home, it was to demand the recognition of all the guarantees of the Constitution to all the States. His letters and speeches in favor of the enforcement of the fugitive slave law—in favor of the repeal of the laws of Pennsylvania, enacted for the purpose of depriving the Southern citizen of the use of our jails for the safe-keeping of his fugitives, and his appeals to the Democracy of the State never to yield to sectionalism, conclusively show that he had not forgotten his duty to great principles, and that his attention was constantly fixed upon the importance of discharging that obligation. He was as vigilant in his duties as a private in the ranks of the people, as he was prominent as a counsellor in the Cabinet and as a representative and senator in Congress.

During the Presidential contest in 1852, Mr. Buchanan stood in the van of the Democratic ranks. The following remarkable passages from his speech delivered to a mass meeting of the Democracy of Western Pennsylvania, on the 7th of October, 1852, at Greensburg, Westmoreland County, are so characteristic of the man and his opinions that we do not hesitate to copy them. Remember that, at no time did he ever yield a jot or tittle to sectionalism. He was against it instinctively, and from the start. He said:

“From my soul, I abhor the practice of mingling up religion with politics. The doctrine of all our constitutions, both Federal and State, is, that every man has an indefeasible right to worship his God according to the dictates of his own conscience. He is both a bigot and a tyrant, who would interfere with that sacred right. When a candidate is before the people for office, the inquiry ought never even to be made, what form of religious faith he professes; but only, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, ‘Is he honest, is he capable?’

“‘Democratic Americans!’ What a name for a Native American party! When all the records of our past history prove that American Democrats have ever opened wide their arms to receive foreigners flying from oppression in their native land, and have always bestowed upon them the rights of American citizens, after a brief period of residence in this country. The Democratic party have always gloried in this policy, and its fruits

have been to increase our population and our power, with unexampled rapidity, and to furnish our country with vast numbers of industrious, patriotic and useful citizens. Surely the name of 'Democratic Americans' was an unfortunate designation for the Native American party.

"The Native American party, an 'American excellence,' and the glory of its foundership, belongs to George Washington! No, fellow-citizens, the American people will rise up with one accord to vindicate the memory of that illustrious man from such an imputation. As long as the recent memory of our revolutionary struggle remained vividly impressed on the hearts of our countrymen, no such party could have ever existed. The recollection of Montgomery, La Fayette, De Kalb, Kosciusko, and a long list of foreigners, both officers and soldiers, who freely shed their blood to secure our liberties, would have rendered such ingratitude impossible. Our revolutionary army was filled with the brave and patriotic natives of their lands; and George Washington was their commander-in-chief. Would he have ever closed the door against the admission of foreigners to the rights of American citizens? Let his acts speak for themselves. So early as the 26th of March, 1790, General Washington, as President of the United States, approved the first law which ever passed Congress on the subject of naturalization; and this only required a residence of two years, previous to the adoption of a foreigner as an American citizen. On the 29th January, 1795, the term of residence was extended by Congress to five years, and thus it remained throughout General Washington's administration, and until after the accession of John Adams to the Presidency. In his administration, which will ever be known in history as the reign of terror, as the era of alien and sedition laws, an Act was passed on the 18th of June, 1798, which prohibited any foreigner from becoming a citizen until after a residence of fourteen years, and this is the law, or else, perpetual exclusion, which General Scott preferred, and which the Native American party now desire to restore.

"The Presidential election of 1800 secured the ascendancy of the Democratic party, and under the administration of Thomas Jefferson, its great apostle, on the 14th of April, 1802, the term of residence previous to naturalization, was restored to five years,

what it had been under General Washington, and where it has ever since remained. No, fellow-citizens, the father of his country was never a Native American. This 'American excellence' never belonged to him."

"The Fugitive Slave Law is all the South has obtained in this compromise of 1850. It is a law founded both upon the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, and a similar law has existed on our statute books ever since the administration of George Washington. History teaches us that but for the provision in favor of fugitive slaves, our present Constitution never would have existed. Think ye that the South will ever tamely surrender the fugitive slave law to northern fanatics and abolitionists?"

"And now, fellow-citizens, what a glorious party the Democratic party has ever been! Man is but the being of a summer's day, whilst principles are eternal. The generations of mortals, one after the other, rise and sink, and are forgotten, but the principles of Democracy, which we have inherited from our revolutionary fathers, will endure to bless mankind throughout all generations. Is there any Democrat within the sound of my voice, is there any Democrat throughout the broad limits of good and great old Democratic Pennsylvania, who will abandon these sacred principles for the sake of following in the train of a military conqueror, and shouting for the hero of Lundy's Lane, Cerro Gordo, and Chapultepec?"

And when the campaign resulted in triumph, President Pierce tendered to Mr. Buchanan the leading foreign mission, which was accepted. Circumstances have transpired, within the last few years, to make the American mission to the Court of St. James singularly important, and it has happened that during Mr. Buchanan's stay in London, several great questions of a vexatious and complicated character have disturbed the intercourse between the two countries. However important to both the cultivation of continued peace and good will, the fact that Great Britain sees our growing progress with jealousy and alarm, and the fact that we behold her *pragmatical* interference upon this continent wherever an opportunity is presented to her, with indignation, render our relations with Great Britain of the most delicate character. The very intimacy of our business connections, constituting, as it does, the real cord which binds us to-

gether, is apt, moreover, to come in conflict with political considerations, and the commercial attrition, so to speak, throws into dangerous neighborhood English ambition on the one hand and American progress on the other. It has become proverbial that the selection of a wise, able and experienced man to represent the United States at the British Court, is one of the first duties of an executive, hardly secondary to the selection of its own chief cabinet ministers, because the English mission is always intensely important to the immediate interests of our people. During the trying time of Mr. Buchanan's mission, the whole nation seem to have become impressed with the importance and justice of these observations. They felt that in the American minister they had a man upon whose safe character and wise counsels they could confidently lean. Their eyes were constantly fixed upon him. Every steamer brought news occasioning the greatest anxiety to the commercial and other classes. On more than one occasion collision seemed to be inevitable, but every panic passed off. The correspondence of Mr. Buchanan, such of it as has been published, exhibits on his part a vigilance, a discretion, an industry, and at the same time a dignity of character, that have made his name a favorite name in every section of our beloved Union. In the later troubles which have given rise to so much excitement and discussion in Congress and the country, Mr. Buchanan has towered in all the dignity of his high character and intellectual superiority. He will leave his post to give way to his successor, having established renewed kind relations between the two countries, and having fixed upon the hearts of the English people the impress of a republican character, which has never, for a single moment, yielded its simplicity and its truth to aristocratic blandishments. Courted and flattered during his stay, he studiously abstained from paying tribute to English vanity. In all circles, and on all occasions, he displayed his American dignity and his American patriotism. Never gratuitously obtruding his country and her advantages, he never hesitated to speak of her as a son speaking of his parent; nor was he ever actuated by any spirit of offensive partisanship. As he came so he goes, the same plain, untitled, unpretending American citizen. The highest classes vied with each other to do him honor; and on a recent occasion, when the news of a threatened collision be-

tween the two countries alarmed the people of both, his presence among the populace of London was greeted with cheers, an evidence that, however parties may intrigue, one honest, straightforward patriot is sure to hold a high place in the affections of the masses.

One great reason why Mr. Buchanan's name is at this moment so acceptable to his countrymen is, because he stands before them, not merely as an eminently capable, but as *an eminently safe man*. In the growing greatness of our republic, its increasing importance, commercially and politically, its extended and extending relations with other powers, not to speak of the efforts of reckless agitators against the Constitution, and all the security and guarantees of our domestic safety and tranquillity, we see the evidences that such a man would be able to confer signal benefits upon the American people in the Presidential Chair. For the first time in many years we behold in the person of James Buchanan, a statesman who combines the rare quality of having been among the very first, in every emergency, to take the most progressive view of every great question, and yet of being able to preserve, in the midst of such emergencies, the bearing, and to exercise the influence, of a sagacious and well-poised democratic statesman. It is this combination of elements which has awakened in his behalf the favorable sentiment of those classes of citizens who look for a wise and judicious administration of the federal government, and which has also gathered around him the warm and generous sympathies of the constituents who confide in his progressive instincts, as illustrated through all his long and illustrious career.

There is not now to be found a reasonable man in any part of the Union, who does not believe that Mr. Buchanan's nomination would be succeeded by his certain and triumphant election. To the South he presents no record inconsistent, even in the slightest degree, with that which induced the southern delegates to vote for him so long and so steadily in the Democratic Convention of 1852. Now, as then, he stands forth the uncompromising enemy of their enemies; the devoted advocate of their constitutional rights. To the Northwestern States he presents the unsullied record of one who has co-operated with their own pioneer representatives in Congress, in opening up our new territories to com-

merce and to civilization. The Northern or Eastern States know him as the champion of their rights, when these were sacrificed to British rapacity. While in the Middle States it may be proudly said of Mr. Buchanan, with no disrespect to other candidates, that he is this day regarded as the very strongest man whom the Democratic party could nominate for the Presidency. The divided household of our political friends in New York would, we believe, find in his name, the olive branch of harmony and peace; the Democrats of Ohio would, under his banner, advance to that victory which their patriotic efforts so well deserve; and Pennsylvania, standing between these two gigantic states, would pronounce for such a candidate, with such a majority as would recall the days when these three commonwealths constituted the very fortress of the Democratic party in the free States.

During Mr. Buchanan's absence of nearly three years, while politics raged at home, he proudly abstained from interfering with the struggle for the Presidential succession. From the time he set foot on English soil, he wrote back to his friends, that in no contingency would he place himself in the field as a candidate for the Presidency. There was nothing of grief in this resolve, nothing of disappointed ambition. It was the calm and deliberate judgment of a mind, which, having looked carefully over the political past and future, had come to the conclusion that the day for the scramble for Presidential honors had passed away—at least with him—and that he was determined to apply himself to other pursuits. We assert, that, if every private letter, written from London since his absence, by James Buchanan, in the unsuspecting confidence of his heart, should now be published, and laid before the American people, there would not be found one line, no, not one syllable, manifesting a desire for the nomination of the Democratic Convention, or suggesting any way by which it might be obtained by himself. Even since he has become formidable as a candidate, his letters are animated by the same generous spirit. And the very fact, that he has taken this course, from a conscientious belief that it would be out of place for him to struggle for the nomination, has made him acceptable to the masses in every part of our country. Absent he is, it is true, but his image is before their eyes wherever they go. In distant lands, it is true, but his counsels have been felt

as if he were present among us. Contending with the giants of foreign diplomacy, it is true, but the thoughts and the words he left behind him, are his living representatives. The people will judge of him by the record, by the even tenor of his life, by the spotless purity of his character, by his undaunted patriotism, and by the trophies with which he returns to his native shores, to be crowned, as we confidently hope, with the highest honors of the Republic.

DEMOCRATIC  
STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
APPOINTED BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC  
STATE CONVENTION.

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JOHN W. FORNEY, CHAIRMAN.

City of Philadelphia.—Gideon G. Westcott, Jas. F. Johnston, George Plitt, Alfred Gilmore, William Rice, N. B. Browne, George Williams, Thomas S. Fernon, Emanuel Street, William O. Kline, William V. McGrath, Edward W. Power, George Moore, Thomas J. Timmons, Jesse Johnson.

Third District.—William T. Morrison, A. H. Tippin.

Fourth District.—Joseph Hemphill, J. C. Leiper.

Fifth District.—J. Lawrence Getz, Wm. Karnes.

Sixth District.—F. Vansant, John Davis.

Seventh District.—Samuel C. Stambaugh, C. D. Gloninger, H. B. Swarr, Jas. S. McMahon.

Eighth District.—Isaac G. McKinley, Andrew Hopkins, William H. Miller, Richard McAllister, O. Barrett, Samuel Bigler, Henry Omit, William P. Withington.

Ninth District.—D. D. Wagener, Samuel Wetherill, Nelson Weiser.

Tenth District.—John F. Lord, William Lilly.

Eleventh District.—Wilson Reilly, J. B. Danner.

Twelfth District.—William H. Kurtz, George S. Morris.

Thirteenth District.—George H. Bucher, George Stroop.

Fourteenth District.—George White, J. Richter Jones, H. L. Diffenbach.

Fifteenth District.—Wm. G. Murray, Thomas A. Maguire.

Sixteenth District.—R. W. Weaver, Dr. B. H. Throop.

Seventeenth District.—Asar Lathrop, William M. Piatt.

Eighteenth District.—Julius Sherwood, H. H. Dent.

Nineteenth District.—William S. Garvin, Rob't P. Cochran.

Twentieth District.—Jos. Douglass, B. F. Sloan.

Twenty-first District.—James M. Bredin, J. M. Keuster, Samuel B. Wilson.

Twenty-second District.—David Lynch, M. I. Stewart.

Twenty-third District.—Wm. Workman, Charles A. Black.

Twenty-fourth District.—George W. Bowman, J. B. Sansom.

Twenty-fifth District.—S. S. Jamison, Charles Lamberton.

Twenty-sixth District.—A. S. Wilson, Thomas Bower, J. S. Miller.

Twenty-seventh District.—E. J. Keenan, R. P. Flenniken.

Twenty-eighth District.—Barnard Reilly, Thos. J. McCamant.



# FIRST MEETING OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE Democratic State Central Committee assembled at the Merchants' Hotel, Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 22d of March, in pursuance of the following call :

## THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

The members of the Democratic State Central Committee will assemble at the MERCHANTS' HOTEL, Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 22d of March, 1856, at 10 o'clock A.M.

J. W. FORNEY,

Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee.

JOHN W. FORNEY in the Chair.

On motion of William Rice,

GIDEON G. WESTCOTT and ISAAC G. M'KINLEY were appointed Secretaries; and

On motion of R. W. Weaver,

GEORGE PLITT was elected Treasurer.

The following members of the Committee were present :

Messrs. G. G. Westcott, Jas. F. Johnston, Geo. Plitt, William Rice, George Williams, Thos. S. Fernon, Emanuel Street, Alfred Gilmore, W. O. Kline, Thos. J. Timmons, Wm. McGrath, Edw. W. Power, George Moore, Jesse Johnson, A. H. Tippin, J. C. Leiper, Joseph Hemphill, Gen'l John Davis, S. C. Stambaugh, H. B. Swarr, I. G. McKinley, And. Hopkins, S. S. Bigler, W. H. Miller, George S. Morris, Thomas A. Maguire, R. W. Weaver, J. B. Sansom, and B. Reilly.

Mr. Jones presented himself as a substitute for Mr. Murray, in the 16th district. After some discussion, on motion of Mr. Kline, the Committee refused to take any action in the matter of substitutes, and Mr. Jones withdrew.

Col. FORNEY then addressed the Committee as to the object of their meeting, as follows :

Gentlemen of the Committee: Before proceeding to transact the business for which we are called together, it may be deemed necessary that the Chairman should refer, briefly, to the peculiar circumstances under which we were elected by the State Con-

vention which assembled at Harrisburg on the 4th of March. At no period within the history of the Democratic party has the Democracy of Pennsylvania been more thoroughly united than at the present day. The Convention, under the power of which we act, met under circumstances of extraordinary interest, not only to Pennsylvania, but to the people and to the Democracy, North and South.

Pennsylvania has for many years had, in the person of one of her sons, a statesman of vast experience and of distinguished ability. Heretofore, other names have been presented for the Presidency, not only from this State, but from other States; but now we speak but one voice for one man. The griefs of others days have subsided, the rivalries of other days have been abandoned, and for the first time in the history of our State we present a candidate to the Union with a unanimous voice. We present James Buchanan to the Democracy. Will the Democracy reject him?

I speak for myself when I say, that not only my judgment, but my affections, concur in the nomination of Mr. Buchanan; and I believe that if the spirit of conciliation and concord, which has thus far been manifested by the Democratic party of this State, continues to be manifested; if we preserve our kindly relations with the other candidates; if we avoid collisions and criminations, the Cincinnati Convention, which meets on the second of June, will deem it their duty to place him in nomination as the Democratic candidate. His large capacities, his spotless private and unsullied public character, his services and his availability, render such a result probable, if not necessary.

This is the candidate whom we present. Part of our duty here to-day, is to second, by vigorous and by discreet measures, the Presidential action of the Democratic State Convention. Other duties have also been committed to our charge. We must take the proper steps to vindicate and advocate the State ticket. The work of organization is a most important work allotted to us. Under any circumstances, this will be a campaign of great excitement, and so far as I am concerned, I go into the contest as a working man, and I trust that the Committee will manifest a similar spirit.

A sketch of the life and services of the Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN, prepared by the Chairman, was then read, and

On motion of Mr. WESTCOTT,

*Resolved,* "That" the Chairman of the Committee be requested to have published ten thousand copies, in pamphlet form, of the proceedings of the State Convention of the 4th March, together with the speeches delivered by the members of the Convention, and other gentlemen invited to address that Convention, and to append thereto the *Memoir* of the candidate whom Pennsylvania has presented to the Democracy of the Union, which he has prepared, with full power to revise and correct the same.

After the appointment of a Committee on Finance, to consist of the following gentlemen, Messrs. Forney, Westcott, Gilmore, Hopkins, and Fernon,

The Committee adjourned, to meet at the call of the Chairman.



